THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 110, NO. 16 NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1944 NUMBER 1533

Mr. Hull Promises Well

Mr. Hull's speech on foreign policy, while it omitted or was vague about a number of important points, represented a substantial advance over his previous statements of the same sort, and is welcome for that reason.

He is right when he says that a permanent world organization must grow out of the present grouping of the most powerful members of the United Nations. He is right, and extremely sensible, when he says that the Roosevelt administration will seek the aid of a bipartisan congressional committee in framing the peace; at least, we shall not make Woodrow Wilson's mistake over again. He is right when he says that the time has arrived to get tough with the neutrals (and we hope Spain is to be included among them). As to France, the limited degree of recognition which the Committee of National Liberation will get, while in our opinion too niggardly, is a lot better than nothing, and a lot better than the active or passive hostility of the recent past.

On Italy, Mr. Hull put as good a face on our policy as he very well could. We are working with the progressive and liberal elements and we will arrange for them to be included in the government as soon as enough more territory has been taken to give a broader base for knowing what the Italian people want. This amounts to saying, "We deny we have been wrong, but we promise we won't go on with it much longer." In general, we intend to encourage "strong, popular, progressive governments" in liberated Europe. Mr. Hull recognizes that a high level of economic prosperity is a fundamental point in the program for a satisfied, democratic country. In short, he sounds as though he had been reading The New Republic—and we hope he has! We cannot forget that in the past, we have had idealistic expressions from government leaders but specific actions in specific cases which were far from idealistic. We shall wait with the utmost interest to see how Secretary Hull's words are implemented.

Russia in the Spotlight

As usual, Russia had the center of the spotlight during the week ending April 10. Her armies were on the Czecho-Slovak border, and had forced the Germans to flee Odessa, on the Black Sea, the last important Russian city that was still in German hands. As her armies struck deeper into Rumania, Premier Molotov issued a solemn statement that Russia craved no territory in Rumania and would not attempt to alter her form of government. And finally, an employee of the Russian government in Washington resigned from his job and repudiated his country in violent terms.

Russians Are Good Propagandists

Anti-Russians in this country had been making two predictions freely and simultaneously. Russia would stop fighting, they said, when she got to her old frontiers. Alternatively, they forecast that she will overrun

CONTENTS

The Week 515

Editorials

Negroes as Voters 517
From Willkie to Dewey 519
Marxism in Russia 520

General Articles

The Supreme Court Today . . . . . Alexander H. Pekelis 522
Quebracho: Case History of a Cartel . . . . . Allan Spalding 525
Equivalence (verse) . . . Babette Deutsch 527
The English Education Bill . . . . . Kenneth Lindsay, MP 528
The Coming Timber Shortage . Lyle F. Watts 529
Mail Sergeant . . . . Lt. Michael Straight 530
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 531
Assorted Flavors . . . . . Stark Young 532
Up from Slavery . . . . . Manny Farber 532
A Communication. . . Lt. Frederick Borden 533
The Bandwagon 534

Correspondence 535

Books in Review

Marginalia . . . . . Malcolm Cowley 537
California to 1900 . . . Carey McWilliams 538
The Days of Revolution . . . J. F. Brown 540
The Eternal Feminine . . Isaac Rosenfeld 541
A Reader's List 541

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1944, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

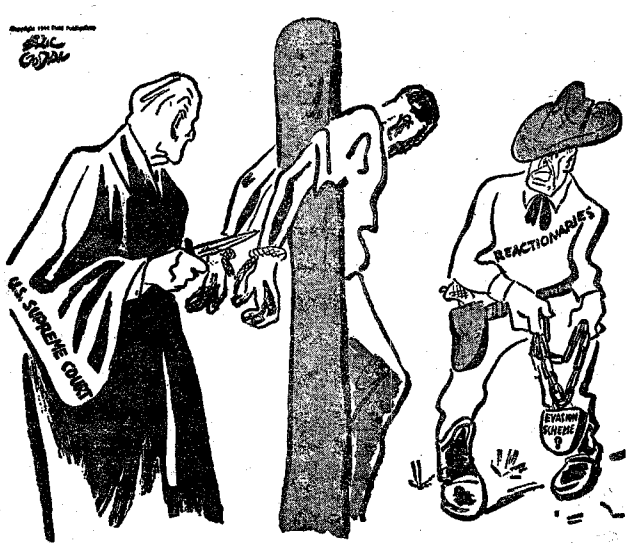
all western Europe, bolshevizing as she goes. The first prediction was proved false some days ago by the Russian armies. The second is proved false by Molotov's declaration—unless, of course, you don't believe any promise made by Moscow, as most of the Red-baiters don't. In any case, the Molotov declaration was a masterpiece of timing, and it must have had a great effect throughout eastern Europe. We agree with William L. Shirer in noting a curious fact. The United States, the home of advertising, is by all available evidence making a poor job of propaganda in this war. Russia, which has no advertising at all, is making a very good one.

The Kravchenko Statement

Victor Kravchenko, employee of the Russian government in Washington, has repudiated his job, his country and communism. In an exclusive statement to The New York Times, couched in remarkably good and idiomatic English, he says that the Soviet government is engaged in double dealing with its allies; that it is still helping and using communists in other countries; that there is no democracy in Russia, but a police terror; that plans are already being made by her for the next war.

These are charges that are on different levels and contain different proportions of truth and falsity. If Russia is preparing against a possible third world war, so is every other country; plans for peace are far from being sufficiently advanced to justify anything else. Certainly there is precious little political democracy in Russia, and a great deal of police terror. These facts are at least as much Russian as they are communist; they are largely the result of the cultural lag by which many Tsarist institutions carry over into the present.

We don't know just how much Russia is helping and using communists in other countries; we do know, however, that these foreign communists are doing everything they can to help what they conceive to be Russia's policy. In the United States, this has carried them to the ridiculous length of tying up to "free enterprise" and the National Association of Manufacturers. As for double dealings with her allies, we don't know what evidence there is for this charge, if any. We suspect, however, that like Britain and America, Russia is pursuing (as was pointed out in these pages in our issue of April 3) two simultaneous policies, one based on collective security, and one on the assumption that collective security will fail. As for Mr. Kravchenko, we feel confident that there are some important facts about him not yet revealed, facts that will throw an interesting light on his confession.



Drawing by Eric Godal. Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications and reprinted by courtesy of PM.

A Word to Both Wings

The so-called left wing of the American Labor Party, in New York State, has now reorganized the party following its victory at the polls. This wing includes the Communists; but it also includes many non-Communist trade-union members. The so-called Right wing, which is certainly well to the Left by ordinary nomenclature, is forming a new party of its own. We should like to give a word of advice to both parties, which is, that they stop sniping at each other. Both wings want to reëlect Mr. Roosevelt. Both wings now realize that the fight is almost certainly between the President and Dewey and that it will be a tough one. The more the ALP Rights and Lefts fight each other, the less strength they have with which to fight their common and dangerous enemies.

Who Will Rule the Air?

In the preliminary negotiations conducted in London about the regulation of air transport after the war, one of the most important as well as one of the most ticklish of the questions which may divide the Allies has been under consideration. While the world is being made far smaller by the development of the plane, there is danger of a bitter competitive contest among the powerful nations for mastery of the air. Issues of military security and commercial dominance are both at stake, while the need of the peoples for efficient and reasonably priced air transport is likely to play second fiddle.

The United States is now far in the lead, with established routes, the manufacture of large transport planes and the size of trained personnel, while Britain possesses the sites of key airports in many parts of the globe. Neither can operate worldwide routes without the right of transit over other nations and the right to use their ports. In both nations there is competition among various commercial air companies. All nations concerned are jealous of air power for military reasons in case of future war. The field cannot be left completely free for all comers because of necessary limitations in terminals and ground facilities, and the need for unified regulation both of manufacture and operation in the interest of safety, to say nothing of the convenience of shippers and passengers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If out of this tangle an acceptable order can be created, it will be a triumph of statesmanship. Whatever the outcome, it is likely to be far short of ideal. What we shall probably have is freedom of the air to the extent of allowing passage to the planes of all nations over the territory of others, coupled with rather strict limitations on the use of ports for commercial purposes. We shall be lucky if some form of private monopoly does not prevail on international routes.

Miss Kellems' Correspondence

We don't like Miss Vivien Kellems, owner of a small factory in Westport, Connecticut. We think her advice that people should refuse to pay their income taxes was outrageous; and we question the taste, if nothing else, of her affectionate correspondence with a notorious Nazi in Buenos Aires. Nevertheless, she has as much right to privacy as any other citizen. Contents of her private letters somehow got from the hands of government officials censoring the mail, to private individuals, so that they were quoted on the floor of Congress, in newspaper columns and on the radio. If Miss Kellems' letters contained illegal material, she should be arrested and tried. If they did not, they should never have been made public.

The Poll Tax Again

The poll tax is up again, and this year its enemies in the Senate have a new technique. They are apparently afraid to filibuster openly, but they will get the same result by introducing many amendments—perhaps a thousand of them—each of which will need to be debated. The "white primary" decision of the Supreme Court has made the fight more bitter than ever; and the poll-taxers in the Senate are in general cockier than ever; believe that the New Deal is fighting a rear-guard action and that the national tides are running in their favor. Meanwhile, a situation remains in which the poll tax continues to distort seriously our democratic theory and practice.

In 1942, only three percent of the population voted in the poll-tax states, one-eighth as many as voted in the rest of the country. Even in the presidential year of 1940, 78 percent of the potential voters stayed away in the states. Of 79 Representatives from poll-tax states, 60 were entirely unopposed in the last election; in the sixth district of South Carolina, the election was decided by four-fifths of one percent of the voters. Defenders of the poll tax will tell you that the primary is what is important, but in '42 there were no contests, even in the primaries, in 47 out of 79 poll-tax districts, and in the last presidential election, only 12 percent of the population cast ballots in the primaries.

Rhode Island has only two Representatives, yet these two got more votes last time than 37 Representatives in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and a large part of Virginia—this in spite of the fact that elections to the House are supposed to be on a basis of population. Rhode Island has 715,000 inhabitants; the other states named have 11,500,000. Taking the country as a whole, one vote in a poll-tax state outweighs five votes anywhere else. Throughout the poll-tax states, crooked political machines habitually pay the taxes of those who vote with them. (Even a tax of $1.50 annually can be important where the average per-capita income is only $350 annually, and the poll taxes accumulate from year to year.) These political machines are so efficient that a congressman from a poll-tax state is ten times more likely to be reëlected than any other candidate. In short, the poll tax is the cesspool of American politics. Sooner or later we shall have to clean it out.

A Correction

In The New Republic of April 10, we referred to Mr. Louis Dolivet as "Editor of Free World and also head of Freedom House." This was a slip of the pen; Mr. Dolivet is Editor of Free World and Secretary General of the Free World Association.

Negroes as Voters

THE BOUT AT LAW between Lonnie Smith and S. E. Allbright—the Texas "white primary" case—promises to be the case of the Supreme Court term. It was no such sweeping victory for human rights as has been trumpeted. Nor was it such a blow at white supremacy as the cry of the Cotton-Eds would indicate. It did not open to Negroes the Democratic primaries, which in eight states at least, have replaced the election. It cannot, so long as the poll tax is an essential in the qualification of the voter. All it does is to outlaw race and color as excuses in the denial of suffrage.

But its significance is not limited to its narrow holding. It keeps alive a dominant issue of civil rights. It makes hopeful a judicial attack upon the poll tax. It records the belated escape of the Supreme Court, in dealing with the issue, from verbal magic. It proclaims constitutional law to be an experimental art and not a dogmatic code. And zest is added by a dissent from Mr. Justice Roberts, who in the heat of combat lifts the veil of secrecy, tells the kind of thing which goes on in executive session and by the violence of his protest makes clear how far the restrained language of the decision goes.

In this, as upon three previous occasions, the Court was confronted by essentially the same question. In each the Negro sues the election officials because of exclusion from the Democratic primary. In each the constitutional sanctions which are invoked are identical. The distinctions are only in the different ways in which the custodians of the ballot-box marked "for whites only" manage to effect the exclusion. First, the state

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legislature of Texas decreed that the Negro should not participate in the Democratic primary; and in Nixon v. Herndon the Court unanimously found the statute to be a denial of the equal protection of the laws. There was a bit of hocus-pocus, for in the case of U. S. v. Newberry, the Court had got itself into a muddle over whether federal authority, clear enough in respect to elections, reached to the primary. The case had been argued under the Fifteenth Amendment, which forbade suffrage to be withheld because of race or color. But Mr. Justice Holmes, choosing to let a hot issue rest, shifted gears to base his argument on the Fourteenth Amendment; and, for the moment at least, all was well.

Thereupon the Texas legislature sought "to avoid" the Court's decision. It replaced its statute by a fresh act entrusting to political parties—note the plural—power to fix the qualifications of their members. Then the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party decreed that the Negro was not to vote in its primary. In the second case, Nixon v. Condon, the plea that exclusion was the act of the party and not of the state failed to prevail. The party, the Court held, was its delegate, and the act was therefore the act of the state. But the division was five to four, with Mr. Justice Roberts, who dissents in the present case, casting the deciding vote. He tells us now that, after the fullest consideration, "the opinion was written with care." He quotes a line from it to the effect that the power of a political party "to determine the content of its membership resides in the State Convention." For years this statement has been regarded as a constitutional curiosity; for why should the Court give to Texas Democrats a pointer as to how they could get around its own decision? The line is the more notable because the spokesman for the Court was Mr. Justice Cardozo, who never did that sort of thing. Can it be, as he seems to intimate, that the free advice was the price of Mr. Justice Roberts' vote?

In any event, the Democracy of Texas needed no further instruction. Its State Convention promptly decreed that the Negro was to be excluded from its primaries. And almost as promptly, in Grove v. Townsend, the question was back before the Court. Whether the issue had been explored with such care that the line was already drawn, or whether the brethren were bound by honor not to go further, or whether, as rumor at the time had it, those who wanted to protest were caught without good reasons, we shall never know—until Mr. Justice Roberts tells all. But, whatever the cause, it was found legal for the State Convention to do what the Executive Committee had been forbidden to do; and the writing of the opinion fell to Mr. Justice Roberts, who, making a private affair out of the party, had no difficulty in showing that exclusion was not the act of the state. It was at the time regarded as amazing that from a bench which contained Hughes, C. J., Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo, JJ., there was not one single word of dissent.

But if protest failed the Court, there was vigorous dissent outside. On May 8, 1935, in an editorial entitled "Shall Negroes Vote?," The New Republic pointed out that in the Southern states exclusion from the primary is in effect a complete denial of suffrage. It went on to say:

> The primary and the election are mere separate aspects of an organic process of selection; the result depends as much upon the naming of the candidates as upon the formal choice among them. At the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments the primary was unfamiliar; it was called into being for the very purpose of giving a great reality to the democratic choice of our rulers. An inability to see the primary as an inseparable part of the procedure through which the voters exercise political rights is a judicial lapse from realism to nominalism.

And as to the duality between party and state, it added, "It is all but obvious that the act of the party is the act of the state. In the world outside the law reports, the state is the body politic; it has many voices and expresses its will through many distinct agencies. An intricate and organic process through which those who govern are chosen is assuredly among the most fundamental institutions of the state." Upon the logic of the Roberts opinion, it remarked, "A political party is confused with a private club, and a right of a fictitious minority is invoked to deny citizenship to an actual minority." It concluded that it was "unbecoming for the highest court in the land" to employ obsolete political theory in order to escape "current economic fact."

After nine years, the Supreme Court follows The New Republic. It has retrieved its lapse from realism to nominalism in two jumps. A little while ago, in a case which bears the unbelievable caption of U. S. v. Classic, it broke down the rigid distinction between the primary and the election. And now, building on that decision, it accords to the Negro such rights as he possesses at the general election. Where The New Republic presented argument, Mr. Justice Reed, in his usual thorough manner, parades the Texas statutes to show that the legislature itself recognizes in a host of ways the public function performed by the political party, and then with restraint and relentless logic, untouched by the verbal magic of the past, he drives the argument home. "The opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practise racial discrimination in an election. . . . The state makes the action of the party the action of the state." And so said they all—all except Mr. Justice Roberts.

His dissent is alike unique, muddled and useful. He protests that "the soundness" of the views ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressed in Nixon v. Condon "is not a matter which presently concerns me"; yet he clings tenaciously to a decision in which he cast the deciding vote. He takes his stand on Convention against Executive Committee as marking the line between lawful action and denial of suffrage. To Mr. Justice Reed, "such a variation in the result from so slight a change in form" just does not make sense. Roberts had voted once to allow Negroes to vote in the primary and once against it. And, to confuse the matter, he had been with the Court in U. S. v. Classic, upon which Reed, with inexorable logic, built his holding. Roberts was, therefore, hardly the person to liken the opinion which had just been announced to "a restricted railroad ticket good for this day and train only." Especially since within a few months his votes had helped to make constitutional the minimum wage and the agricultural-adjustment program, which on their first appearance he had found to be far outside the law's tolerance. And he accuses his brethren of "an intolerance for what those who have composed this court in the past have concluded." Tolerance of ancient wisdom seems to him of greater value than intolerance of human injustice.

Yet it is the Roberts dissent which gives to the case a significance not inherent in it. He stands, at least by profession, on *stare decisis;* protests the overturning of decisions by new Justices claiming fresh light; and regrets that "in an era marked by doubt and confusion, an area whose greatest need is steadfastness of thought and purpose, this court"—marked in the past by "consistency" and "steadiness"—should become "the breeder of fresh doubt and confusion in the public mind as to the stability of our institutions." To which Reed calmly replied that, although "not unmindful of the desirability of continuity of decision," this court has never, "when convinced of former error, felt constrained to follow precedent." He adds "this has long been accepted practice and this practice has continued to this day." And, to fortify departure by precedent, he copies from a dissenting opinion by Mr. Justice Brandeis, in which the Court has corrected former error, and by citations of his own brings the list up to date. Thus the Court does more than decide the case; it makes necessary reversal a canon of constitutional interpretation.

But to stop a denial because of race or color is not to assure the vote. The decision is an event in a winning but still an uphill fight. It has prompted a vigorous reaction from a waning but militant minority. The officials of Tennessee announce in effect, "It doesn't concern us; we have never done it that way." The Texas Democrats seem to regard it as an obstacle to be overcome: "We'll have to work out a new scheme." And the bourbons of South Carolina and Mississippi wonder if the "outrage" does not justify secession. And the progress of the bill to outlaw the poll tax gets weighted down with a hundred new amendments. As the fight is won, the case of Smith v. Allbright seems destined to become a classic. A Negro denied his right to vote wins from the Supreme Court the ringing declaration that the law, far from being based on precedents, is a living thing.

From Willkie to Dewey

THE WITHDRAWAL OF Wendell Willkie from the Republican race means that Governor Dewey can have the nomination if he wants it. There is no other conservative candidate with anything like his support, and virtually no progressive candidate with any strength at all. The chance of a deadlock out of which a dark-horse nomination might emerge, while it exists, is small. What does this mean for the election, the country and the future peace?

First of all it is important to assess the Wisconsin primary, in which Mr. Willkie was so overwhelmingly defeated as to cause him to withdraw. Mr. Dewey's adherents were mainly ultra-isolationist conservatives. Many have interpreted this as a sign of a disturbing swing of sentiment in the country. It would be difficult to imagine a less representative sample of the opinions of the national electorate on these issues. For many years any Wisconsin voter who ever entertained a progressive idea has promptly left the Republican Party—first for the La Follette progressives, then for the Democrats. In addition, Wisconsin, with its large German population, has in two wars been the outstanding home of isolationism, regardless of opinions on domestic issues. The result is that about the only ones left to vote in the Republican primaries would be those most resistant to Mr. Willkie's ideas on both domestic and foreign affairs, and the mossbacks most amenable to the national party machine. If Mr. Willkie could have won them, he could have swept the convention almost without opposition. (It is true that people can cross party lines to vote in Wisconsin primaries; but the available evidence indicates that they did not do so in this instance.)

So little does this primary signify about the attitude of voters in general that we cannot help suspecting that Mr. Willkie used it as an excuse for getting out of the race rather than regarding it as a reason. He may have thought his chance against the well oiled machine was so small that he could not defeat it unless he could win such a difficult test as to outflank its whole position. Or he may have made up his mind that Mr. Roosevelt is going to run and be elected anyway, and he had better withdraw at a moment when he could do so most gracefully.

At any rate, we must now begin to think of the election in terms of Dewey v. Roosevelt. There is no doubt that Mr. Dewey is by far the most popular candidate among regular Republican voters. What quali-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties has he exhibited, or what policies does he favor, which justify this popularity? We can think of only one—that he is believed to be a successful vote-getter. Few know him well, and few of those who do know him have any enthusiasm for him. But he was elected Governor of New York by a clear majority in spite of the opposition of President Roosevelt in his own home state. Therefore, it is reasoned, he may lead the party to success nationally. Also, the lack of any knowledge concerning what his line on national issues really would be—except that he would represent a change—allows Republicans of many varieties to indulge their wishful thinking that he really agrees with them.

Whatever an extremely cagey politician can do, Governor Dewey is evidently capable of doing. By pretending that he is not a candidate, and is attending to his own knitting as Governor, he is relieved of the dangerous responsibility of making any public commitments which might divide his support. He can also preserve the illusion that the office is seeking the man, rather than the man the office. If he is favored by voters with an embarrassingly isolationist tinge, as in Wisconsin, it can be said that he did not solicit their votes. If when the convention finally is assembled he decides that the chance of election is too slim, he can decline to run. But of course all this is a pretense. The nomination campaign for him is being skillfully and energetically managed, by the methods of backstairs politics, and is evidently well financed. We do not for a moment imagine that he has not made private commitments to those who are financing it. If in the end he decides not to accept the nomination, they will have a solid block of delegates who can be delivered to someone else upon whom they can depend.

So far as we can make out, Mr. Dewey has no strong convictions about public policy, but is governed rather by his ambition for a successful political career. He would even espouse a good cause if it would help his chances. But he would not stay with it long if it gave him any trouble. A recent example of this is his action on the issue of racial and religious prejudice. These matters were disturbing numerous powerful minorities, and when the issue looked like a good one, he appointed an expert committee to advise him on the subject. This year, as the committee finished its work, he ditched its recommendations without consulting them to the legislature, causing it to resign, and promptly appointed a new commission. The reason assigned for this action is that he did not want to antagonize Southern votes at this moment, when they will play such a large part in the Republican convention. And as long as he has a commission on the subject, it can be argued, for the benefit of the minorities, that he has an interest in the matter.

Of course Mr. Dewey could not win the presidential election by the same methods which he has been using to win the Republican nomination. He will have to say something. Undoubtedly, however, the strategy of the campaign will be to mobilize as many as possible of the discontents and grievances against the administration, no matter how mutually self-contradictory they may be. It will be interesting to see how he deals with this situation—which after all is in the good old tradition of American politics. The standard way of dealing with it is to make speeches full of generalities that can mean all things to all men, and in private to make all necessary promises to the forces that can swing the critical groups and states. The skill used in the primary campaign gives evidence that in this sort of game the Dewey forces will be no mean antagonists.

One conclusion stands out boldly. Independent voters of liberal or progressive tendency, who have been wondering whether after all a progressive Republican might not be better than a tired and compromising Roosevelt, will now have to recognize that their speculations have become academic. A fourth term is their only hope for a decent peace. The inner machine of the Republican Party is operating smoothly, and it is financed by the same old interests that have long had the chief stake in the party. The best test of what Mr. Dewey would do in the White House is what the Republicans as a group have been doing in Congress. It is, by and large, a record of stark reaction and isolation, shot through with reckless partisan opportunism at a period of supreme national danger.

Marxism in Russia

THE NEW YORK TIMES a few days ago read a magazine article and came up with a scoop. It announced, in a news story and an editorial, that Russia has officially altered the theory of Marxism so completely that, so The Times implied, the word "abandoned" might almost be used. The article was one in the current issue of the (Marxist) American periodical, Science and Society, on "Political Economy in the Soviet Union." The only trouble with The Times's scoop is that mostly it isn't so.

We hold no brief for the Marxist theorists of Soviet Russia. Almost anything can happen in that country, including wild alterations of the official ideology. Marxism itself has changed greatly in the past quarter-century, just as happens to every other political-economic theory in a living and changing world. Nevertheless, the findings of The Times, in this matter, are certainly a good deal more surprising than those of the Soviet economists who are quoted. The latter contemplate "a revolutionary change in the official economic philosophy of Soviet Russia," as The Times says, but had the much more limited objective of improving the teaching of economics in Russian schools, especially on the elementary level, which was found to have several defects.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In The Times, however, the Soviet report is celebrated as a disavowal of Marxist economic dogmas, to the greater glory of the capitalist system. This is made possible, of course, by distorting and coloring the meaning of the original. The summary of the report makes only the confusing sort of sense that the Times author wants to convey. His chief discovery is that the report calls capitalism a "progressive" economic system. Apart from the fact that this reference to the "progressive" character of capitalism is a minor point in the report which is put at the reader's focus of attention only in The Times's summary, Marxist theory has of course never denied that capitalism represents a higher form of economic development than primitive communism.

Unfortunately for The Times, however, the authors of the report still praise Soviet socialism, in passages not quoted in the newspapers. The advantages of the Soviet system in time of peace, the Soviet economists write, "enabled the Soviet Union to wipe out centuries of economic and technical backwardness at a tempo something like ten times that of the development of the most important capitalist countries. Furthermore, these advantages of socialism over capitalism are especially obvious in the unwavering improvements in the material welfare and the cultural level of the laboring masses." And in time of war, the authors continue, the accomplishments of the Soviet economy "would have been completely unrealizable under private ownership of the means of production."

The "new doctrine," says the Times editorial of April 3, entitled "Russia's New Capitalism," throws overboard the three most fundamental tenets of Marxist "science": the idea of the class struggle, the materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value. But the Russian report does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, it emphasizes the need for a definition of economics "including all the essential statements of Marxist classics on the point, so as to prevent any misunderstandings." Throughout the report, the concepts of class struggle and historical materialism are applied, in the explanation of the primitive communal system, for instance, or the change from capitalism to socialism. The concept of surplus value, a working principle employed by Marx to explain the price of commodities and the nature of profits in the capitalist system, is not abandoned. The Russian report rather tries to work out a law of value, in accord with the realities of the Soviet economy, not in order to "justify," as The Times suggests, differences in wages of urban and rural, skilled and unskilled labor, or competition between the government-controlled and the unorganized market (where collective farmers and coöperative artisans operate, for instance), but in order to explain prevailing commodity prices in the Soviet Union. There is nothing surprisingly new about this formulation. Nobody ever denied that the Soviet planners fix commodity prices in accordance with the financial obligations of the Soviet government and the available quantity of a given commodity.

The report says that in the teaching of economics in Russia "the matter has been often presented as though the surplus product does not exist under socialism. . . . In point of fact, surplus labor must always exist, under any system of society." But in contrast to capitalism, the report goes on, "socialism destroyed the exploitation of man by man. . . ; it liquidated the appropriation of surplus labor and surplus product and surplus value by parasitic exploiting classes." The tasks confronting the Soviet Union are impossible of solution "without the expenditure of the surplus labor of each worker, peasant, intellectual."

The Times seizes on the phenomena of surplus labor, capital accumulation, wage differentials and the influence of market conditions on prices, in order to make a case for capitalism. After all, reasons The Times, "these are essentially 'capitalist' ideas and techniques." It finally comes to the intoxicating conclusion that "in some essential productive practices and techniques, Russia is today even more 'capitalistic' than the United States," although it modifies this assertion in the next sentence by calling the Soviet system "state capitalism."

The Times may describe the Russian economy as "state capitalism," but the Russians believe there are vast differences between the Soviet system and Western capitalism. The report of the ten Soviet economists makes that clear in many passages. Their task was not different from that of dozens of economists in the capitalist countries who continuously give new explanations of the phenomena of capitalist economics. Just as it is impossible today to teach the working of monopoly capitalism and the cartel system by pushing Adam Smith or John Stuart Mill down students' throats, so it is equally impossible to understand the operation of the Soviet economic system by reading Karl Marx or even Lenin. But that does not justify The Times's giving a distorted view of a Russian statement whose true character anyone can discover by reading it.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Supreme Court Today

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY, led by its Supreme Court, may very well prove to be, in the coming decade, the most liberal of the three branches of the national government. Is this why those who have long been yearning for a swift and unrestrained return to "constitutional normalcy" have recently shown a propensity to attack the Court, its authority and the fitness of its personnel? Is this why the other side, caught in an ideological lag so frequent in the history of liberalism, is still "fighting the last war," as the French General Staff used to do, the war against judicial supremacy and government by judges? And should we discern an ominous significance in the simultaneous appearance of a learned plea for total abandonment of judicial review of constitutional questions, predicated upon the authority of Thomas Jefferson, who, in a certain period of his life, wrote that "the legislature alone is the exclusive expounder of the sense of the Constitution in every part of it whatever," while the judiciary is "an irresponsible body working like gravity by night and by day . . . advancing its noiseless step like a thief"? Be this as it may, and quite regardless of political preferences or motives, conscious or otherwise, which may have inspired the offensive against the Court, most serious students of the Supreme Court's history would agree that a comparison of the present with its past record does not support the denunciation of its recent activity. And there are good reasons to fear that an impairment of the Court's position in the national life would ultimately prove equally disastrous to those who attack it and to those who fail to defend it.

The charges that one finds most clearly formulated in the present offensive against the Court can be summarized as follows:

1. The Justices of the Court are hopelessly split among themselves, and their continuous disagreement on nearly all vital issues destroys the Court's authority and prestige. As Arthur Krock puts it somewhat sarcastically, "in the interests of democracy at war, dissenting brethren should disagree in silence, or at least eschew personalities."

2. The Court systematically disregards its own precedents and by continuously changing its theories creates a confusion among the lower federal and state courts which it is supposed to serve as a guide on all questions involving federal law. Says G. W. Martin in Harper's Magazine: "What the members of the Supreme Court will do with matters that are laid before them is as predictable, these days, as what a cage of chimps would do with a bunch of bananas. Inasmuch as the principal function of courts is to enunciate principles so that all men may be treated alike, today and tomorrow, and be able to conduct their affairs accordingly, the simian gymnastics of the judges are not so terribly amusing."

3. The Court fails to confine itself to the interpretation of the law as it is. In the words of a New York Times editorial, "The majority of the new appointees came to the Court . . . apparently under the theory that their function was not so much to know and apply the law as it stands, or in case of doubt to interpret it objectively, but to apply a new 'social philosophy' in their decisions. The inevitable effect of such an approach could only be to create uncertainty regarding the law and turn the Supreme Court, in effect, into a third legislative house."

One should not be deceived by these seemingly legitimate and innocuous claims for unity, stability and certainty voiced by the critics. As usual, the quest for unity of approach, certainty of attitudes, for the "law as it is," is a disguise of the underlying design to prevent the development of an institution or of a body of law in a direction deemed undesirable by the critics. Particularly unwarranted and inconsistent with the American constitutional practice and, for that matter, with the common-law tradition itself, is the suddenly scandalized attitude toward the presence of a number of dissents among the Justices of the Court.

It must be kept in mind that the very existence of separate opinions is a characteristic common-law feature. A French judge who would dare to add the single word "dissenting" to his signature would be deemed guilty of a grave disciplinary infraction and subject to removal from office. The only country on the European continent where the individual opinions of the judges composing a court are known, is Switzerland, which is an island of devotion to the principles of democratic federalism and to the law-making function of the judiciary.

The very conception that a court—or a country—to be dignified, orderly and authoritative, must speak as a unit, assumes that harmony, progress and order can be achieved only through unity and uniformity. Related as it is to this conception, the irritation against the Justices' frequent and vocal disagreements among themselves is rooted in a conception profoundly alien to the contrapuntal common-law approach to law, society and government. The disagreement among justices of the same court—like the co-existence of two competing systems of courts, of law and of equity, involving two different and, indeed, conflicting legal systems within the same governmental framework—is equally deplored by a great many. Quite possibly the dislike of seeing our Justices manifest their disagreement on vital issues is rooted in the failure to grasp the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deeper and essential philosophy of which the First Amendment is only one manifestation.

Carefully and often intelligently drawn statistics have shown that the number of dissenting opinions has greatly increased in recent years. Figures substantiate this observation, but no statistics in the world can show how much of the increase in the number of dissents is due to the greater care now taken by the Justices in the selection of the cases which they consent to review. The exercise of the appellate jurisdiction of the Court is made overwhelmingly dependent upon a rule of discretion, exercised through the denial of petitions for *certiorari* or the dismissal of appeals for want of a substantial federal question. By wisely using this power the Court has almost entirely succeeded in eliminating from its reports those trite and trifling questions as to which a dissent could scarcely arise but which for this very reason were hardly worthy of the Court's attention. The Justices today "take" a case (and four votes out of nine are necessary for the purpose) only when it reveals an issue worth discussing and deciding.

Other critics finally have berated the form that the disagreement among the present Justices has taken, the form of alleged personal attacks and of unseemly clashes decried as inconsistent with judicial temperament and posture. Most editorials have agreed that the Justices "hurl thinly veiled insults at one another," and one of the writers even detected an interesting explanation for the court's "crisis" in the fact that of the nine Justices now on the Court, seven came there with no previous experience as judges, the tenuous exceptions being those of Mr. Justice Rutledge, who spent two years on the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and of Mr. Justice Black, who "had served eighteen months as a police judge."

The headlines faithfully added their blank strokes to the conventional picture of a turbulent court torn by an internal strife and gave us, in New York alone, on one opinion-Monday, such images as "Frankfurter Cries Laxity at Justices," "Stone Is Target" or "Barbs Fly in High Court." Too bad that one who hopefully turns, encouraged by headlines and editorials, to the text of the opinions, finds them so disappointingly calm and so impersonally technical! The first statement, indeed, which has been used by the reporters as showing the existence of personal clashes, was uttered by Mr. Justice Black in the Hope Natural Gas Company case, where he referred to a "wholly gratuitous assertion as to constitutional law in the dissent of Mr. Justice Frankfurter." This statement has been answered in almost identical terms by the latter Justice in the Gerdes case, where he said that the majority resorted "gratuitously" to another doctrine of constitutional law. Whatever the connotation that the word gratuitous may carry in common language, both Justices, in the opinions which contained the term, took pains to explain that they used it in a technical and narrow sense indicating no more than that the announcement of the doctrine in question was a dictum, since it had been asserted in cases which, as Black has put it, did "not afford a proper occasion to discuss the soundness of that doctrine" and "courts do not discuss issues in abstract" or, as Frankfurter said, could "be disposed of on [a] conclusive ground" not involving constitutional issues. To be sure, the two Judges disagreed as to the merits of the two doctrines in question as well and labeled them respectively as "highly controversial" and "wholly novel." But anyone can see Black and Frankfurter, who sit nearby on the bench, exchange frequent remarks in the most friendly mood and their dissents are not even distantly analogous to what has been written and said in the past by Judges whose judicial aptness and greatness are no longer questioned by newspapers or magazines. To give one instance only, one could point to Mr. Justice Holmes's dissent from an opinion written by the proudly devout Christian and Catholic Mr. Justice Butler: "I would suggest that the Quakers have done their share to make the country what it is, that many citizens share the applicant's belief and that I had not supposed hitherto that we regretted our inability to expel them because *they believe more than some of us do* in the teachings of the Sermon of the Mount." How does this dig compare with the most recent dissents? Consider for instance the following: "That is why we should be uncompromising in observing the limits of our authority and should avoid laxity in assuming jurisdiction. See 49 Harvard Law Review 68, 90-107." This is the statement which came as such a shock to one newspaper, The New York Daily News, that it published the Justice's picture and headlined it, "Frankfurter Cries Laxity to Justices."

To the category of ready-made indignation belongs the sudden naïveté of those who, like The New York Times, ask: "Are our Constitution and federal laws so ambiguous or lacking in clarity that even experts cannot tell what they mean?" This astounded question completely overlooks what by now is common knowledge, namely, that our Constitution has been phrased in such terms as to avoid the political straitjacketing of future generations; that the often praised wisdom of the founding fathers consisted in not attempting the precise solution of the infinite number of situations and contingencies which might arise in the future; and that one of the reasons why the American Constitution has survived so many other more recent charters is to be found in the very vagueness, generality or, if you like so to call it, uncertainty of its constitutional mandates. It is obvious that provisions such as the ones prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishment," "excessive fines" or "unreasonable searches and seizures," or those requiring "just compensation," "due process" or "equal protection," leave the real content of the constitutional guarantees thus created wide open

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the changing interpretation of what is cruel, unusual, excessive, unreasonable, just, due or, for that matter, "equal." Congress might have occasionally tried to give a more specific content to its enactments but, at many strategic points, it preferred to avoid the danger of "freezing the law" and deliberately left it in a state of flux by laying down only general principles of policy rather than attempting the formulation of a perfect statute whose minute paragraphs could lead to *automatic* results in all possible cases. So courts and administrative agencies have often been left with no more precise indication than that methods of competition must not be "unfair," that motor carriers must serve "public convenience and necessity" and that the activity regulated must be one "affecting commerce."

Nor should it be assumed that statutes of this kind are a pernicious invention of the brain-trusters. The prevention of "unfair methods of competition" is the only definition of the scope of the activity of the Federal Trade Commission created in 1914, and it is the Sherman Act, passed in 1890, which still retains the prize for grand generality.

The notion that the Court has recently become a "third legislative house" is equally unwarranted. Of course the Court is not, and should not be, a *legislature*, but does that mean that the Court is not, and should not be a *law-making* agency? Do those who criticize the Court today advocate the shutting off of the most characteristic source of the common law, of the law made by judges? Should the only law-making activity in the framework of our government be that of the legislature? If this were or ever became true, an equally radical change would be required in our constitutional and legislative techniques. The very type of constitutional and statutory provisions under which we live calls for a statesmanlike judiciary, politically and socially alert, conscious of being a living branch of a living government and not an automatic device distinguishing right from wrong with the implacability of a machine for the detection of false coins. The history of the decisions of our Supreme Court is a history of political decisions. And many a landmark in the history of the United States is a great judicial decision.

The present Court has lived up to the best American tradition. Its greatness and its conformity to that tradition are particularly apparent in its refusal to assume the cloak of infallibility. Max Lerner noted recently that "it is good to have Justices on the Supreme Court who pretend to no Olympian infallibility and who can stick their necks out of their enfolding robes." It is noteworthy that the present Court has been quite explicit in this attitude. It has repeatedly stated that "Congress and courts both unhappily may falter or be mistaken in the performance of their constitutional duty"; that problems of justice are not "a question of algebra to which there is a demonstrably right or wrong answer"; that one should not advance "illusory pretenses of exactitude"; that "our own experience vividly demonstrates that careful and competent men frequently reach different conclusions despite the fullest and most careful examination of all available data, including the difference of opinion on the part of their associates."

Law is too serious a business to be left to lawyers. While there are legal questions and legal problems, there are no legal answers or legal solutions. The greatness of the Court is manifested in its growing awareness that the issues which confront it, no matter how legal, must of necessity find a composition social, economic or political in nature. Thus, various Justices of the Court have again and again put the emphasis upon the necessity of working out a "practical, as distinguished from a theoretical, definition," have declared "that practical tests should govern," that the "recognition of the relevance of the economic effects has made the mechanical application of legal formulae no longer feasible"; that "social as well as economic return" must be "taken into account" in the process of regulation; that the Court "should, for the guidance of the regulatory and the regulated, reveal something of the philosophy, be it legal or economic or social, which guides [it]." They know that "this does not satisfy those who seek for mathematical or rigid formulae." But they are blunt and outspoken in stating that such formulae "are not provided by the great concepts of the Constitution such as interstate commerce, due process, equal protection"; that the constitutionality, for instance, of the application of the AAA to a given case can be more properly determined by a reference to the "economics of the wheat industry" than by a measurement of the commerce power based on the mechanical application of any legal formula or nomenclature.

Nor can it be assumed that it does not matter too much what is said about the Court, since, anchored in the Constitution, it is, in a sense, above praise and blame. On the contrary, it must be fully recognized that the constitutional position of the Court is extremely tenuous. Indeed, its jurisdiction upon matters representing more than 95 percent of its average business depends on the strength with which public opinion would believe in the Court and support it if it came into conflict with a hostile Congress. The Constitution, in this respect, is of an unusual explicitness and provides in Article III, Section 2, that the original jurisdiction of the Court is restricted to the exceptional cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state is a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction only *with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make*. In other words, even without challenging the doctrine of judicial review as laid down in Marbury v. Madison, Congress could cut off the Supreme Court of the United States from the power to review the decisions of the lower courts and could also create special

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courts for the administration of special statutes. Such a court, the United States Emergency Court of Appeals, has recently been created in the Emergency Price Administration Act and it has exclusive jurisdiction to review OPA orders. It is true that the decisions of this court are reviewable by the Supreme Court, but this is only so because, as the Supreme Court itself said, the congressional enactment "has saved" to it such authority. The real basis of the constitutional position of the Supreme Court is in the prestige it enjoys and in the readiness of political public opinion and of the people at large to protect it and to prevent any encroachment upon its powers.

As of all things essential, it is true of the Court that it is infinitely powerful and at the same time frightfully defenseless. The Justices composing the Court and all those who discuss it should therefore be always fully aware of their responsibility. Not all Justices have at all times realized the strength and the frailty of the institution they serve. Some of them have been small and even petty men and have indulged in personal animosities. Others, like bad actors, have thought more about themselves and the effect they were making upon the public than about Hecuba whose death they were supposed to lament. More than once, however, the people's interest in the Court and the people's respect for it has saved it from the blindness and pettiness of some of its detractors, members or outsiders. It is thus true that the Court owes to its people at least as much as the people owes to its Court. The present Bench, as a whole, is animated by a courageous willingness to cut through legalistic niceties to the living concreteness of the issues debated before it. The very difficulty of the enterprise upon which they have embarked and the passion without which the solution of the real problems presently confronting the country could not have been attempted, have inevitably led to a considerable disagreement and even to animosity in its expression. But despite unfortunate and dangerous shortcomings, despite some relapses into technical formalism, despite some yielding to the temptation to avoid an issue by denying its own jurisdiction, the present Bench is on the whole a great court, faithful to the genius of American government and to the tradition of free dissent, remarkably free of partisan politics, aware of its governmental function, able and willing to do its share in the trial which a great nation faces.

ALEXANDER H. PEKELIS

Quebracho

Case History of a Cartel

THE NEW REPUBLIC's recent supplement on cartels discussed international monopolistic activities in several basic products. For a practically perfect example of cartel operations on a somewhat smaller scale than most of the others mentioned, I give you a substance of which, quite possibly, you have never heard: quebracho. Few Americans knew anything about it until the Kilgore Committee recently revealed that this important Argentine product has been in the grip of one of the strongest cartels in the world for many years.

Although Argentina has come in for plenty of attention from the press in both hemispheres since the war began, most of the articles that have been written about her government have confined themselves to reporting current political events, and have neglected to analyze the economic conditions that have a major bearing on these events. The quebracho cartel is certainly one of the most important of these influences. Its domination over the entire Argentine economy has given it a power almost equal to that of Argentina's official government. But the cartel's power extends far beyond the boundaries of Argentina, due to its absolute control over a vitally needed raw material. It holds all of the world's leather-consuming countries in the palm of its hand, through its ability to cut down the output of quebracho and raise world prices to fantastically high levels.

Quebracho is a material that is used to tan and preserve leather. It is, therefore, indispensable in the manufacture of leather. The importance of leather in making belts, harnesses, shoes, etc., for the armed forces and for civilians needs no emphasis. Quebracho is a strategic material in the same sense that tin and rubber are. Monopoly control of this tanning agent leads to an indirect control over leather production.

Quebracho is extracted from the bark of a tree that is chiefly found in Argentina, and grows to a lesser extent in Paraguay. Since Argentina and Paraguay together contain about 98 percent of the world's quebracho supply, the industry is ripe for monopoly. Although there are 22 "independent" producers in Argentina and Paraguay, 5 of them turn out 57 percent of all the quebracho that is shipped abroad. These five producers have been controlled for some time by a company known locally as La Forestal Argentina S.A. de Tierras, Maderas y Exploraciones Commerciales y Industriales. This imposing title is about as far as La Forestal's Argentine ties go, since it is completely owned and managed by the British. La Forestal's name

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is merely the Spanish equivalent of the Forestal Land, Timber and Railways, Ltd., which is located in England and is the actual nerve center of the quebracho cartel. Contact between the two Forestals is maintained through John B. Sullivan, who serves as manager of La Forestal and chairman of its namesake's board of directors.

Using its five large producers as bait, Forestal of England has drawn the lesser manufacturers into a quebracho pool. Control over the pool is formally exercised by a directive committee run by Forestal, whose decisions are nominally subject to the approval of even the smallest fry in the cartel. But there is slim possibility that any of these companies will oppose a decision by Forestal. At various times in the past history of the pool, corporations have attempted to drop out and compete with Forestal, only to learn to their regret that an independent can't buck a cartel alone. Moreover, Forestal has practically straitjacketed the entire cartel with a device known colloquially as the battle-fund. Although the principle underlying this fund is somewhat crude, it is extremely effective. Each member corporation is required to make a heavy periodic contribution to the fund. All members who play ball with Forestal by meeting their quotas and marketing through the cartel's official bottlenecks, get a refund; but anyone who develops a heretical desire to sell enough of his quebracho, and at a sufficiently low price, to make a profit for his own firm, finds that his contribution is permanently retained in the battle-fund. After using the battle-fund on several occasions to discipline recalcitrant members, Forestal has acquired an unchallenged hegemony in the cartel.

The directive committee sets the productive pace for the entire pool, with an absolute shipping quota of 40,000 tons every three months. This quota is broken down and assigned to each individual corporation on the basis of its relative productive capacity. The committee has also carved out world markets between the two Forestals, which seems slightly superfluous when you consider how closely they are related.

The committee's rigid control over production has considerably facilitated its manipulation of quebracho prices in the various markets of the world. Consuming countries—particularly the United States, which now purchases the largest quantities of quebracho—have an inelastic need for this tanning agent, and consequently, they are forced to shell out whatever price the cartel names. For a vivid demonstration of how a cartel deliberately squeezes production in order to slap its own arbitrary prices on a controlled product, you have only to glance at the record of quebracho prices for the last few years. At every point before the cartel went into operation, prices were low and production was on the increase. But each time the cartel resumed its activities, this price-production relationship was dramatically reversed. For instance, before the present pool agreement went into effect in 1934, quebracho was selling at 2½ cents a pound. Within a period of seven years after the agreement was signed, the central committee gave the price level six boosts until, in 1941, its customers were paying nearly five cents for every pound of quebracho they bought. The cartel, incidentally, was putting a fat 33-percent profit into its pockets.

A letter presented by Wendell Berge as evidence at the Kilgore Committee hearings indicates that the liberal Argentine press is not blind to the cartel's policies. This letter, written by a cartel executive, mentions that Argentina's largest daily, La Prensa, has opposed "the huge profits made by the quebracho manufacturers, profits which in their [La Prensa's] opinion mean a loss for the Argentine Republic on account of the decrease in the export of both quebracho extract and logs."

This country imports most of its quebracho through two large corporations, the Tannin Company of New York and the International Products Corporation. Both are virtual members of the pool. Although the IPC officially dropped out of the cartel five years ago, it has consistently played ball with Forestal and its cronies, preferring to compromise rather than to join the other independents in fighting a losing battle against the cartel. The pool has direct control over Tannin through Forestal's Canadian subsidiary, St. Helen's, Ltd. Just to make sure there aren't any slip-ups on the part of the IPC, Forestal has at times exercised control over the IPC by purchasing a leading share of its stock through Tannin. The president of Tannin has occasionally served as a monitor on the IPC's board of directors. This policy of "friendly supervision" has enabled Forestal to sew up all distributive outlets and build a completely integrated cartel, from producer to consumer.

The cartel's only competitive threat is provided by two or three independent producers, who control about 10 percent of all output. Afraid that even this diminutive measure of competition might eventually upset the cartel's equilibrium of control, Forestal has tried to eliminate it in four ways: by bringing pressure to bear upon the Argentine government for the enactment of official export quotas; by entering into separate contracts with the independents; by making clandestine agreements with shippers to allot their available space only to the cartel; and by attempting to buy out the offenders.

A close relationship has existed for years between the cartel and the government of Argentina, although it is a rather ambiguous one. Toward the end of 1942, when Forestal was having difficulty holding three members of the pool in line, it persuaded the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture to establish export quotas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to reinforce those already promulgated by the cartel. Apparently the cartel used its powerful position in the Argentine economy as an argument to convince officials that if the cartel should fall, the government would tumble after it. When the Department of Justice indicted the United States representatives of the cartel two years ago, these companies were represented by an official envoy of the Argentine government, Dr. Alberto Severgnini. At the same time that Severgnini appeared in this country on a diplomatic mission, he acted as Forestal's lawyer.

But the cartel does not always use such heavy-handed methods. A few years ago, the Proctor Ellison Company and Howes Brothers, two large leather-manufacturing concerns in this country, gained control of a small Argentine producer named Samuhi, in order to import their quebracho at a price lower than that set by the pool. With Samuhi in their hands, they started to attract other independents, and soon another company had left the pool. This gave the cartel a mild case of jitters. To prevent any future secessions, Forestal now has a compromise contract with Proctor Ellison and Howes Brothers, stipulating that the pool shall supply these companies with a minimum amount of quebracho each year, charging eight percent less than regular cartel prices. In return, both manufacturers have promised to limit Samuhi's production and exports, and have an agreement not to buy outside the pool.

Perhaps the cartel's most effective weapon in gagging rambunctious independents, however, is its control over shipping space. Forestal has practically every shipper in Argentina under its thumb. At a wave of Sullivan's sceptre, any steamship line will grant or refuse requested cargo space. The Kilgore hearing revealed that when one independent recently tried to get shipping space from the Stockard and Sprague steamship lines, its manager was told point-blank that both companies are supported by the cartel, and that they cannot do business with any free-lance concerns. In order to make these high-pressure tactics appear legal, Forestal has an informal arrangement with the shipping companies, under which the cartel is notified of each request for space in plenty of time for it to preempt the space with its own quebracho. The moral seems to be that you can't win—if you're an independent.

Americans have read so much by now about the divided loyalties shown by cartels that no one should be disillusioned at learning that the quebracho pool has sent vital war supplies to Japan during the last few years. But many readers may be chagrined to discover that they have been paying for the Japanese shipments out of their own pockets. The pool has sold its quebracho to Japan at cut-rate prices, and absorbed this loss by charging higher rates to the United States.

By sticking to its restrictive quotas and high prices, the cartel has prevented the creation of quebracho stockpiles in this country. We have made various attempts to develop an adequate substitute for quebracho, but so far they have not been very successful. As a result of some excellent experiments conducted by the Department of Agriculture, a potential substitute has been found in the bark of our Western hemlock trees. But there has been no attempt to develop the possibilities of the bark as a tanning agent, because its extract cannot be produced profitably. Germany has proved that economical substitutes for quebracho are within the realm of possibility by developing the manufacture of tannic acid from her oak trees.

The cartel is already drawing up its plans for a postwar offensive. Its most recent actions indicate that the pool is wheeling into a position from which it can command an even stronger monopoly after the war. The impending liquidation of Tannin, if it is more than just a rumor, would undoubtedly be a preliminary move under this strategy. By dissolving Tannin in this country and reorganizing it in Argentina, the cartel would accomplish two important objectives: it would place its major distributor out of the reach of the Sherman Act, and at the same time it would enable Tannin to evade the OPA's irksome price ceilings. Evidently, the pool is not satisfied with having merely doubled its prices. If the quebracho cartel succeeds in strengthening its position in Argentina, you can probably expect a leather shortage that will make our present rations seem like an economy of abundance.

ALLAN SPALDING

Equivalence

Whatever is must act, you said.
And I denied.
But later thought how even the dead stir,
When a dream comes to take them by the hand,
Or as you look in their remembered eyes:
How then they turn and move
In anger or in love,
And give the living news that otherwise
Heart could not understand or mind embrace.
Then how much more—
Seeing a star's light traveling from death,
Seeing a flower on its light-filled stem,
Tasting its petaled breath,
Listening to music speak of superhuman joy—
Do flower, star, and music pour
Their essence into energy.
No less
The rags of history, the private wound
Considered only for some curious scar:
All ugliness
Buried in the deep past has deeds to do,
Even as beauty alters its firm witnesses.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The English Education Bill

THE FIRST major measure of reconstruction, the English education bill, has just been passed. It is a rewriting as well as a consolidation of the education law for England and Wales. The present system of education has been described as a chaos out of which order is constantly emerging. This chaos is due to two things, the religious origin of so many schools and the intense individualism of the people. Today half the schools, more than 10,000 in all, belong to the Church of England or the Roman Catholic community. Outside the state systems there are several thousand private and independent schools for which fees are paid. The bill sets out to combine equality with diversity of educational opportunity. It is a gigantic compromise.

The war has stimulated interest in problems of education. Evacuation revealed some distressing gaps in the social training of young children; the intake of young men and young women into the services threw a floodlight on the neglect of adolescence; army education has stirred many men to realize their own ignorance. Finally, the churches—but particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury—have taken a lead in discussing the basic weaknesses of democracy. Mr. Butler, the Minister of Education, has been wise enough to take advantage of this ferment.

It should be stated at the outset that the bill depends on the provision of teachers, both in quantity and quality, who at the moment do not exist. At the moment more than 20,000 male teachers are in the forces; no young men have been trained for five years; and the bill makes new demands on the profession. Thus when the war ends there will be a shortage of about 70,000 teachers.

What does the bill propose? It aims to achieve continuous schooling from the age of two to eighteen. Below the age of five there must be a sufficient supply of nursery schools; between five and sixteen there must be free primary and secondary attendance for one day a week at young people's "colleges." The provision of meals and milk is obligatory. New schemes of technical and adult education must be submitted and financial and administrative arrangements made for the voluntary or religious schools. All schools outside the national system must be registered and inspected. Finally, the administrative areas are revised and their number is reduced from about 300 to 200. The proposals imply a much stronger central ministry and much greater responsibilities on local education authorities.

On the religious issue the state offers the churches a 50-percent grant to bring their schools up to modern standards. The Church of England will surrender the majority of its schools in exchange for a recognition of broad Christian instruction in all state schools, including a corporate act of worship. The Roman Catholics regard the "broad Christian instruction" as disembodied Christianity and will have none of it. They will thus be compelled to raise considerable sums of money for building purposes.

Secondary education presents a stubborn problem. At the moment less than 10 percent of the nation's children receive full secondary education. These are selected by a scholarship examination at the age of eleven. Under the education bill the examination is to be abolished, and selection by differentiation will replace selection by elimination. It is expected that a less academic and more exciting curriculum will be provided for large masses of children. Already the prototype exists in the junior technical and modern schools. At their best they include workshops and practical rooms, school gardens and playing fields, gymnasia and swimming pools. Already many children stay on till the age of 15 in these schools. Nor are they cursed by a leaving examination. It remains to improve their staffing ratio and multiply them in town and country.

The part-time education in young people's colleges probably will precede the raising of the school-leaving age to 16. Here again problems of curriculum, staffing and buildings will tax the ingenuity of local administrators. A young people's college assumes an attendance of some 500 young persons between the ages of 15 and 18, who will provide 100 scholars a day for 5 days a week. Neither rural nor suburban areas will find it easy to site such colleges. The ordinary school-teacher will be of little use. It is hoped to earmark men from the forces and from the factories for this special type of instruction and leadership. The curriculum will include English, physical and vocational training and courses in citizenship.

So far no solution has been found to the most baffling of all the problems. Outside the national system there exists a group of schools, small in number but of high quality. They continue to exist because they meet a steady demand; they are a challenge to the state system in so far as they retain higher standards; moreover, they have in many cases noble traditions. It is no answer to introduce a minority of poor scholars; nor can they be abolished by Act of Parliament. The only final answer is to make the free schools provided by the state so excellent that parents will forgo the expenditure that private schools involve.

If fees and examinations are both abolished, some alternative method of selection must be set to work. Modern society is based more and more on differentiation of function. Equality of opportunity must, therefore, be combined not only with local autonomy, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also with sensible methods of selection and with the preservation of standards and quality. How to reconcile these imponderables is the underlying and fundamental dilemma of modern democracy.

London KENNETH LINDSAY, MP

The Coming Timber Shortage

THE WAR has demonstrated that an abundant timber supply is essential to national security. Yet as a nation we manage our forest resources in a woefully inadequate way. Annual sawtimber growth is not much more than half of Forest Service estimates of postwar requirements. The sawtimber stand was reduced about 37 percent in the 30 years 1909-38, and forest depletion has not been checked. Even in the depression year 1936, when the last nationwide analysis was made, annual sawtimber growth was only two-thirds of timber cut, plus losses from fire, insects, disease, etc. (collectively referred to as forest drain).

The war is now accentuating the nation's forest problem. It has highlighted shortages of critical species and of high-grade timber. It has led to premature and unnecessary sacrifice of young growth of common lumber. Yet total consumption has been no greater than in earlier years when timber was more plentiful.

Lumber is now among the most critical war materials. The immediate problem of production is chiefly one of manpower and equipment, but output is lagging most in the East, where small mills predominate. The idleness of thousands of these mills in this time of need directs attention to the conditions which led to dependence upon them. Small mills, working mostly on second growth, have characteristically gained in importance as old-growth timber disappeared.

Wartime drain upon the forests, estimated at almost 60 billion board feet in trees of sawtimber size, has been some 25 percent above the 1936 level. Much evidence points to a continued high demand for the years ahead. Technological progress and the necessity of reasonably full employment are expected to hold national income above a level of perhaps $125 billion, with a heavy use of forest products.

The accumulated requirement for civilian housing, often placed at a million new homes annually for 10 years after the war, is one of the most important factors. Conservatively estimating that residential construction will rise from 300,000 to 900,000 new units per year in the 5 postwar years, the average lumber requirement will be 8 billion board feet annually. Farm-building maintenance and construction, also in arrears, are likely to be stimulated by increased farm purchasing power to require perhaps 7 billion board feet annually, instead of the prewar estimate of 6 billions. Railroad needs are unlikely to decrease.

On the other hand, lumber for military construction, which reached a peak of 11.6 billion board feet in 1942, will drop to a nominal amount. Also boxing and crating, which accounted for more than 40 percent of total lumber requirements in 1943, with a record of 16 billion board feet, may be expected to drop to a more normal level of about 6 billion board feet annually. All things considered, total lumber consumption is likely to average about 35 billion board feet during the immediate postwar period. This was about the level of output in 1942.

But lumber normally constitutes less than 60 percent of the total sawtimber drain. In addition to fire and other losses, many products besides lumber involve cutting trees of sawtimber size. The use of plywood will undoubtedly increase. The cut of fuelwood is expected to drop to the prewar level. We may be able to meet the growing requirements for pulp and paper without substantially increasing the rate of wartime forest drain by better integration of pulpwood cutting with sawlog operations and by imports from Canada and northern Europe. Without allowing any margin for the many new uses for wood opening up in the field of chemistry, or providing for heavy but probably transient requirements for reconstruction abroad, total postwar sawtimber drain is likely to average more than 60 billion board feet.

Looking farther ahead, recent developments support the soundness of the national goal of annual growth proposed by the Forest Service in 1938. This goal of 21.4 billion cubic feet of all usable timber (as contrasted with sawtimber alone) compares with wartime consumption and losses of less than 17 billion cubic feet. It contemplates some reduction in domestic lumber requirements after the initial postwar period, but includes an allowance of some 4 billion cubic feet for new uses, export and safety. In the economy of abundance on which postwar prosperity must be built, we should plan on an annual forest crop substantially greater than present consumption.

Against this bullish outlook for postwar and long-range demand for forest products, annual growth was estimated in 1938 as only 11.3 billion cubic feet of all timber, including 32 billion board feet of sawtimber. There is little basis for evaluating the changes which may have taken place in the last five years. Certainly the growing stock situation, upon which in the long run annual growth depends, has been adversely affected by wartime cutting.

Obviously we cannot continue indefinitely to cut and destroy almost twice as much timber as we grow each year. The ultimate solution should lie in increasing growth rather than reducing consumption. There is no doubt that the acreage available for forest crops is ample, if properly managed, to produce timber enough for all foreseeable needs. But even under the most favorable circumstances it will take many decades to restore essential growing stocks in depleted areas and build up forest productivity so that annual growth will be double what it is today. LYLE F. WATTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You're in the Air Force Now

(This is the second of three sketches by Lieutenant Michael Straight of the United States Army Air Forces, formerly one of the editors and Washington correspondent of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS)

II. Mail Sergeant

WHEN THE DISHES WERE STACKED we went back to the other end of the sitting room. "You'll excuse me, Joe," Ace said, "I got some letters to write." He sat down in an armchair and started chewing on his pen.

"Isn't that just like a mail sergeant?" said Mrs. Ace, when she came back. "All day long he sorts out letters and gives them to you cadets; then he comes back and writes letters all night. Here, Joe," she said. "Have some cheese blintzes I just made—you boys love them. You know, every Friday evening the captain comes to eat blintzes, and some gefüllte fish with us. He says Ace runs the best mess in the army."

Mrs. Ace turned up the gas flame and we drew our chairs close to it. "You know, Joe, what's wrong with you, and the captain, and all the fellows we bring here? You ought to be married.

"Three years ago," she said, "If you'd told me I was going to marry Ace, I'd have said you were crazy. Now I think I must have been crazy not to marry him the first time I met him. I can't even remember what life was like before we married.

"You remember The Great Thurston, Joe? Me and my twin sister handled the props for him and did a tap routine in the intermission, The Polly Twins. All the men were after us. Then one night Ace came to the show. He wasn't attractive like the other men; I guess he was the first man I'd met who didn't wear a gold watch chain and try to sling a line. He looked at my sister and said, 'That's the girl I'm going to marry.'"

"It was you," Ace said, writing hard.

"How do you know?" said Mrs. Ace. "He couldn't tell us apart, even when she let him kiss her—anyway he pretended he couldn't.

"Then the war came. One night Ace came backstage. 'Honey,' he said, 'I'm a private now, but pretty soon I'll be a staff sergeant. Will you marry me?' 'I'll marry you when you're a staff sergeant,' I said. Afterwards I was scared. I thought it would take Ace twenty years. But a year later a telegram came from Ace. He said:

> Roses are red, violets are blue,
> I'm a staff sergeant, how about you?

"What could I do, Joe?" Mrs. Ace said. "Even when we were getting married in the temple, he kept looking sideways at me, he wasn't sure whether he was marrying me or my sister."

"I'm still not sure," said Ace, reading his letter over.

Mrs. Ace came over and sat on the arm of my chair. "You're like an old friend, Joe," she said in a low voice. "I'm going to tell you a secret. No one but the captain knows about it.

"You know how the boys crowd into the mailroom," she said. "They're so far from home, and getting a letter means so much to them. They wait there half an hour every day, just to get one letter a week. Sometimes cadets come in every day and never get a letter. They can't seem to believe it. They beg Ace for letters.

"You know, there isn't one among the six hundred of you that Ace can't call by his first name," Mrs. Ace said. "At night sometimes it's almost as if he talks in his sleep; he says—'Kreamer, Ktsanes, Kivi, Krulewitz.' He knows all of them and when one of them waits at the window day after day, Ace worries about it until he can't sleep. It got so bad once that I said to him, 'Ace, why don't you write letters to them?'" She looked around; Ace was completely absorbed—"That's what he's doing now—writing letters to the cadets."

Mrs. Ace walked over to his chair, read one of the letters, and quietly brought it back. "Listen," she said:

Dear Ernest

You will be surprised to get this letter, but don't be surprised. You look as though you worry a lot about your flying and I know how much you want to get through. You look depressed, and maybe I can help. I've watched you around the post and you seem like the finest type of American who will soon be flying for all of us. I'd like to get to know you better.

I know what it means to you to hear from home when you're far away. By accident I overheard some of your friends say that you weren't getting many letters. Ernest, maybe the reason you don't get more letters from home is that you don't write enough. Why don't you write home more often and see what happens? Your friend

Mrs. Ace folded the paper. "Isn't that a nice letter," she said. "Usually he signs them 'an unknown friend' or 'a silent admirer.' Sometimes we sit down and write them together in the evenings. The boys are so glad to get them Ace says, and they never guess who the friend is.

"You know the captain, Joe, he's a lonely man. He doesn't get many letters either. I wanted Ace to start writing to him, but Ace was embarrassed. He said he couldn't write to an educated man like the captain. So I told the captain about Ace anyway—Ace doesn't know—you know what the captain said?"

She looked at Ace—his head was bent over his letters—then she said softly:

"He told me, 'You're the ones that make the world go around.'"

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

The Court Stands Guard

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States is living up to the great reputation with which conservatives have clothed it since John Marshall made battle with Thomas Jefferson. Now it is a true guardian of the liberties of the people. That is what conservatives have said the Court was all along. What they meant was that it was a guardian of property rights, a refuge in the days of political change. It was. Now it is a defender of the best in the American system.

A few days ago Mr. Justice Roberts castigated his eight associates on the Court for reversing a decision he had written for the old court in 1935, holding that political parties were judges of their own membership. There have been many reversals of late. A new court is discarding high precepts that previous courts had established. It is unlawful, says the new court, for states to prevent Negroes from voting in party primaries. Precedent is thrown out the window and a fundamental democratic right is established.

In his dissent, Mr. Justice Roberts wrote a fine credo for the conservatives. It was admirably stated. "It is regrettable," he said, "that in an era marked by doubt and confusion, an era whose greatest need is steadfastness of thought and purpose, this court, which has been looked to as exhibiting consistency in adjudication, and a steadiness which would hold the balance even in the face of temporary ebbs and flows of opinion, should now itself become the breeder of fresh doubt and confusion in the public mind as to the stability of our institutions."

The conservatives' position could hardly be better put. Certainly it is not to be ridiculed. But in this age of uncertainty, in this day when new paths must be discovered if peace and security are to be found, I take comfort in the fact that one of our oldest institutions is not afraid of change, especially when that change recaptures the faith of the Bill of Rights and widens and deepens the democratic base upon which all our hopes depend.

Of course, the decision of the Court in the Texas primary case, written by Mr. Justice Reed, will not solve all problems. It will not immediately help many Negroes to find their way to the ballot boxes in the Deep South. It will not help Southern liberals in their political campaigns this year. Two leading administration supporters in the Senate—Claude Pepper of Florida and Lister Hill of Alabama—will find it harder to win renomination as a result of the court's decision. The "race issue" is being widely used against both those New Dealers. They have been put on the defensive as a result of the administration's efforts in behalf of the Negro. They have tough fights ahead of them in their respective state primaries on May 2.

Senator Pepper was driven to pay his respects to the "white supremacy" slogan of his party after the Court's decision was announced. Senator Hill previously had said that there could be no change in the Democratic Party's devotion to "white supremacy" in the South. Despite all this, the Court once again has charted a straight course. It has given renewed promise that the Court is one place in Washington where liberals may go unafraid.

Much has been said and written about President Roosevelt's health. He has had a tough winter. He needs a rest, a chance to relax. More than anything else, perhaps, he needs an opportunity to get away from the war. In one of her columns lately, Mrs. Roosevelt said that the President had not been well. She wrote that it was a weariness that comes from the awful realization of the tragedy of war as much as a physical weariness that afflicted him. Admiral McIntire's report was not wholly reassuring. He said that the President's health was "satisfactory." In the past, Admiral McIntire has used more enthusiastic language.

If, after a rest, the President should return to his desk still tired, the political repercussions would be great. If Mr. Roosevelt could not recapture his old vigor and enthusiasm, he might be persuaded not to run for reëlection.

Mr. Willkie's defeat in the Wisconsin primary was, from the point of view of fourth-term strategists, both encouraging and discouraging. One group holds that it was one more indication of the conservative trend, and that it is this trend which may defeat the President in November.

Another group agreed with Nathan Robertson of PM that the primary showed that independent and liberal voters still are loyal to the President and the Democratic Party. If they had not been, so the argument goes, more of them would have voted for Mr. Willkie.

What is beyond dispute is that Wisconsin Republicans do not want a liberal leader. I think that must go for the overwhelming majority. There are liberal Republicans, of course, but they are in the minority.

Mr. Willkie made a vigorous, fighting campaign, and he lost. He was trying to rehabilitate a party which wanted no rehabilitation. He went into Wisconsin attacking reactionaries and isolationists. He made The Chicago Tribune the object of several scathing attacks. When the news of his defeat came in, my first thought was: "Oh, how I hate to see The Tribune tomorrow." Mr. Willkie's defeat was a victory for The Tribune.

"The issue in Wisconsin was Tribune policies against Willkie's policies," The Tribune's editorial, entitled "The End of Mr. Willkie," said. "The people of Wisconsin voted for Americanism and against foreignism. . . . Foreign newspapers [meaning The Chicago Sun, Daily News, Times, and The Milwaukee Journal] are in rout and disgrace along with Willkie. Our long, bitter fight to save this country is heading toward a triumphant conclusion."

It was a triumphant day for The Tribune, a sad day for the American people. In his hour of defeat, it should be said for Mr. Willkie that in this war he has conducted himself as a statesman. His stature is so much greater than that of the other leaders in the GOP that there is no comparison.

Note: We are on the verge of another poll-tax struggle in the Senate. The outlook is not bright. The poll-taxers are more determined than ever and will fight to the bitter end. I suspect that they will win.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assorted Flavors

Mrs. January and Mr. Ex, by Zoë Akins. Belasco Theatre, March 31, 1944.

BRAHMS SAID that you must be careful what you say about compositions by royalty, you never know who may have written them. The same applies to the theatre art. It is an art so mixed in its varied elements, and so made up of elements combined and fused—in intention at least and always to some extent in fact—into one whole, that what is contributed by this or by that is not always easy to determine. Fortunately, the proof of the pudding is finally in the eating.

In the new Zoë Akins play at the Belasco it is thus impossible to tell how much the characterization of the heroine, a rich, scatter-brained, warm-hearted woman, is due to the author and how much to the veteran talents and unceasing energy of attack that Miss Billie Burke brings to it. I cannot tell, not having seen Miss Burke very often and mostly in the films, the extent to which the highly expert projection of the lines, so that no witticism of the author's and no game intention is ever missed, should be credited to Miss Burke or to Mr. Elliott Nugent, whose skill as a director is well known, and his collaborator, Mr. Arthur Sircom. On the other hand I should not know how much I should blame the directors for the somewhat overworked, overexploited, stage movement that Miss Burke indulges in, or recognize it as Miss Burke's own, a hangover from the stage technique of her prime, where there was an honest horror of letting the stage go dead for a single moment, even if you could invent nothing else to do but cross it or change from one chair to another. I cannot even tell from what we see at the Belasco whether Miss Akins meant to give us comedy of a kind of national-folk sort, larded with wit; or whether she had in mind something a bit more serious as political and social comment; or whether she meant only a heady farce, rollicking with the native and national, that would serve as a starring vehicle for Miss Burke.

The last act of "Mrs. January and Mr. Ex" appears to have been vastly rewritten, or something like that, and the heavy first version thus enlivened from one so bemoaned in the initial reviews. Be that as it may, it seems to me that this occasion at the Belasco is a great deal less tiresome than many of the Broadway offerings. Of course you may be the kind of thinker who is offended at any evidence, or certainly any display, of technical skill on the actor's part, as something old-fashioned or artificial, in which case you will scorn this presentation, play, acting and all. Or you may be the kind of serious thinker who considers everything dealing with the government or the politics of our day as *per se* serious—even if it has to be dull, biased and heavy. In that event this play is an offense to your very nostrils—even Adrian of Hollywood's clothes for Miss Burke are extravagant and, what's more, different.

"Mrs. January and Mr. Ex" deals with a rich woman who has decided on living the life of poverty—with forty trunks, many servants, cars, horses, jewels, and so on, plus children by three husbands, each child trained to self-defense by force and selfish callousness. She takes one half of a double house in a New England town. The other half is inhabited by the owner, a Mr. Cooper, who turns out to be a former President of the United States (Calvin Coolidge, minus a good deal of Cal and plus Mr. Frank Craven's charm, elusive stage craft and gentle, astute approach to his effects) and who in due time recognizes her good, generous heart, and is not unaware of the allure of her glamorous presence and reckless mind. In the end he is recalled to the Republican nomination and she will be in the White House, and so bless her heart!

Even taking it as farce, we might well wish that Miss Akins' play—or perhaps its producers—had the time or the courage to project its many witty and interesting motifs—that for instance of Mr. Ex's putting some of Mrs. January's wild communistic talk into his impromptu speech and making an overwhelming hit, or the fact that her three divorces and flighty wealth did not prevent the people's enthusiasm for him and for her glowing image as the next President and Wife—these are only two of the great number of really witty motivations that are introduced into the characters and situations and are slighted in favor of some sort of whooping up that merely crowds the play and lessens its appeal. By the same token Miss Billie Burke does not need to work so hard or to force as much as she does, in the second act especially; she looks very charming, her performance is vastly engaging. Miss Barbara Bel Geddes is the callous daughter. To a young actress of such promise and intelligence, a fair critic would like to be useful with his suggestions. I can only suggest that Miss Bel Geddes keep in mind, especially for a future variety in roles, the flexibility of bodily stage movement. She had already a voice of unusual flexibility, color and charm from top to bottom.

STARK YOUNG

Up from Slavery

THE MORE the conventions of movie ideas and technique petrify, the more tempting buffoonery becomes as an antidote. The conventions in painting which drove the Dadaists to their burlesque were as nothing compared to the conventions the movies have built up. For the first Hollywood film Dadaist I have a few suggestions. For instance, I have always thought that the best way to film a famous novel would be to let the audience read it word for word off the screen; at the end of each chapter a list of suitable questions could be asked to see if the audience was getting it. My suggestion for the most worthwhile newsreel would be one that ran for three hours and consisted solely of horse races—the newsreel people could thus see for themselves how alike one horse race is to another and perhaps see so many of them as to get their fill once and for all.

As an antidote to the Bogart and Cooper pictures, a picture should be made in which all the people who were beaten up by Bogart or defeated by Cooper were given a chance to say why they made such a bad showing. My favorite thirty-second movie would open on an idyllic forest glade, with the faithful little boy—played by Roddy MacDowall—nuzzling and petting a gentle collie dog, named Lassie: suddenly the dog would turn on Roddy and bite his head off, and the last scene would show Lassie as she was at the start but Roddy would be without a head. And then there would be an Orson Welles movie in which the camera mucked around on a dark stairway for two hours

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

looking for Welles. I'd like to see a movie in which one never saw the faces of the players, and the idea would be that those people in the audience who could identify the actors from their bodies would be given free tickets to next week's show, in which only the legs of the players were shown; whoever could name the actors this time would be given tickets to a final performance where nothing was shown, and those who could name the actors this time would be made lifelong members of those actors' fan clubs.

Just a little nonsense has gone a long way lately toward making hash of some of Hollywood's pet conventions. Much was mentioned in "The Miracle of Morgan's Creek" that was supposedly unmentionable in movies. A good deal of the value of Sturges' films in general has to do with his kidding of the more precious film conventions, and with his kicking over a few technical clichés now and then. For instance, his starting his movies from the moment the credits start has got rid of the bore of slugging through endless credits and of listening to the terrible music that is played for them. The Bugs Bunny cartoons have got a good amount of humor out of letting the rabbit manipulate the working of the film to suit his convenience, by making asides to the audience and by relaxing the seriousness of the film everywhere. Paramount News has rejuvenated a couple of its recent reels by playing around with the cutting and editing of an Australian rodeo, and using Zero Mostel for its story on the income tax.

The injection of more nonsense into the movies would no doubt lead to playing up many of the great Hollywood exaggerations by a process of worse exaggeration. The tears would well up in such torrents out of actors' eyes as to cut gorges in their faces; actors would put so little food on their forks when they ate in films that by the last reel they would have shrunk away to skeletons; they would write so fast when there was a need to write in a picture that they would finally be able to wave their hand at the sheet of paper and a five-page, closely packed letter would be the result; a new cigarette, suitable for only one puff, would be discovered; the reshaping of lips would push past the nose and eventually do away with the need for false eyelashes, and the rise in breasts would do away with the need for faces. No male actor over Dickie Moore's present age would ever be seen without his trenchcoat, and there would be trenchcoats made that intertwined so complicatedly that no man could ever be taken alive out of one. There would be movies in which the music was kept at the same deafening pitch it has when the credits are being shown, so that not a word of what any one was saying would be heard throughout the entire film.

Theatre owners and the movie public would undoubtedly take their cue from this Dadaist phase of movie making. Theatre owners would provide each seat with a noisemaker so that the audience would make some real noise; the spaces between each row of chairs would be done away with entirely so that there would be no chance of your walking to your seat. A way would be found to run four movies simultaneously and spectators would be imported from Central America to make the wait for seats a day or two longer. The public would retaliate just as playfully by merely going to the theatre to buy their candy, then going home to eat it.

MANNY FARBER

A Communication

The Veterans and Postwar Democracy

SIR: One of the greatest dangers to the preservation of Democracy in postwar America lies in the artificial cleavage which is today being developed between servicemen on the one hand, and labor on the other.

Through more than twenty months of army life in New York, Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma, California and Oregon, I have listened to our soldiers discuss happenings in civilian life. They debate in heated terms the merits of the Brooklyn Dodgers and the Notre Dame backfield; they argue the relative physical appeal of leading pin-up ladies or, on a more practical plane, of the local P-X gals.

And they discuss labor: they tell you what they're going to do to those so-and-so strikers when they get back to civilian life. This theme has been sounded with accelerating frequency in letters to newspapers, in the remarks of men returning from fields of action, in letters to friends and relatives as published in recent anthologies. It is a prejudice which can easily be exploited by those seeking to retard the development of social progress by splitting those who might achieve it through working together.

This attitude has developed, clearly enough, from a combination of causes. It stems from the prewar anti-unionism prevalent among a great section of the American people, from a gross exaggeration of the number and extent of strikes, from a misconception that the laborer rests comfortably at home enjoying the blessings of a swollen pay envelope while the soldier sweats out the duration in a bullet-swept, rain-filled slit trench, from a total ignorance of the tremendous job that American labor is doing in the war, and from a complete lack of understanding that what labor is fighting for at home today will protect the standard of living of the returning serviceman when victory comes. A feeling, an exaggeration, a misconception, an ignorance and a lack of understanding, let it be added, that are carefully encouraged and fostered by sections of the nation's press and by segments of its political leadership. But a large part of the blame for the spread of this anti-labor sentiment in the armed forces must be placed at the door of labor itself, not for what it has done, but for what it has failed to do.

In her remarks at a session of the recent Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins revealed that there are about 2,000,000 trade-unionists in the various branches of the armed services. If we accept the current estimated figure of about 10,000,000 as a correct total of all our fighting personnel, it becomes apparent that 20 percent are trade-unionists. When I observe this figure, and consider it in the light of my own army experiences, I am truly amazed. For when, in the exceedingly few serious discussions in which I have taken part, I have presented the dangers of the anti-union point of view, I have found but sporadic and isolated support from my brothers in arms. If one out of every five was indeed a trade-union member, he succeeded in hiding that fact very well.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We can come only to the unhappy conclusion that organized labor has failed on one or both of two counts: it has failed to make unionism seem entirely respectable even in the eyes of its own members, so that they are reluctant to champion it, or it has failed to educate its individual members to the point where they feel themselves capable of presenting the union point of view against a hostile majority.

In either case, better and more consistent educational material sent to its members in the armed forces is the answer to the current problem. The unions must make certain that their members in service receive union publications promptly and regularly. Furthermore, they must see to it that problems of war production, labor-management relationships, legislation and the like are presented in clear, basic terms. They must remember at all times that the average soldier no longer enjoys the educational benefits of discussions on the floor of the union meeting.

But what about the future problem? What must be done to ensure a proper understanding of labor's role on the part of non-union returning servicemen and women?

Here is where the 2,000,000 can really go to work. In The New Republic for September 27, 1943, "G.I." suggested that an organization of mustered-out trade-unionists be formed. But he proposed the unions as the logical springboard for such a group simply because they alone contain the personnel and the finances. His is the negative approach—the approach based on elimination.

Actually, an organization of trade-unionists coming out of the services must and will be formed because it is the only type of organization which, through its very composition, can give living proof of the artificiality of the soldier v. labor conflict. It is the only type of organization that can make the electorate aware not only that servicemen and labor have common, rather than divergent, interests, but that actually they are to a great extent one and the same group. . . . A postwar organization of trade-unionist war veterans is not only advisable, it is essential if we are to fight effectively the anti-democratic elements in American society.

But such an organization must come from the returning servicemen and women themselves, and not, as "G.I." suggests, from the executive boards of the leading unions. It must be developed from our fighting personnel's own understanding of the problem and the danger, and from their own conception of the importance of their role in postwar America. Its true democratic program can alone be sponsored by and built from the needs and interests of the veterans themselves, and must not be handed down, tailor-made to fit, by international executive boards. To accomplish its aim, it must be a veterans' organization of union members, rather than a union organization of veterans.

This new organization must avoid the pitfalls of the sectarian point of view. It must not agitate for special favors for veterans, except in so far as such benefits will aid the stability of the nation's economic and social set-up. By its every action and word it must indicate that the interests of war veterans, trade-unionists and the vast majority of Americans are identical.

Consequently, in its form, it cannot copy the existent veterans' groups. In no sense can it be a rival to them. Its program will be decided upon democratically, without benefit of smoke-filled hotel rooms in convention cities; it will have no need for huge parades and fancy uniforms. It must and will be an integral part of every union, veterans' organization, Chamber of Commerce, women's club and Marching and Chowder Society, constantly reminding the American public of the unanimity of the goal for all of us—the maintenance and extension of democracy. Through the conventional public-relations methods, and through sound, straightforward political action, it must continuously demonstrate that the doctrine of servicemen v. labor is a fiction as far removed from fact as are the racial theories of fascism. It will constantly drive home the fact that millions of good, loyal, hard-fighting servicemen and women are also honest, intelligent trade-unionists. It will neutralize what undoubtedly is being counted on as a strong weapon in the coming campaign to spread disunity among the peoples of the postwar world.

Such an organization will spring from the ranks of those who yesterday fought for Democracy in the factories, offices and shops, and who today fight for it in the foxholes and slit trenches of Europe and Asia.

Corvallis, Ore. LT. FREDERICK BORDEN

The Bandwagon

Declaring the invasion of Europe may cost a million lives, Representative [Jessie] Sumner, Republican, of Illinois, demanded today that Congress act to postpone the attack. "Who cares whether Europe is ruled by Hitler or Stalin?" she asked in a House speech. "The difference between these two ambitious tyrants is not worth the life of a single American boy." – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

On the Home Front

Shreveport soon will have an ordinance prohibiting whites and Negroes from being served in the city's eating establishments. . . . Recent attempts of Negro soldiers to obtain service at eating places catering to whites only had been brought to the attention of councilmen. – *UP dispatch to The Austin (Texas) Statesman.*

Signs and Portents

Fred Bush caught a muskrat with pure white feet and tail tip and a large, clearly marked white "V" on its chest. – *AP dispatch from Pulaski, N. Y.*

Democracy in Action, Western Division

"I believe in free speech but I do not believe that free speech should extend to people like Harry Bridges." – *Benjamin C. Hilliard Jr., national executive committeeman of the American Legion, speaking before the Board of Regents of the University of Colorado, as quoted in The Rocky Mountain News (Denver).*

That All-Out Effort

Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers, was the principal speaker yesterday at a luncheon meeting of the Municipal Bond Club of New York, held at the Bankers' Club. Mr. Rickey drew an analogy between the "will to win" of the baseball club and the will of the people of the United States to win the war. – *From The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

The Florida Voters' League

SIR: Early this year a group of liberals, consisting of college professors, ministers, social workers and representatives of organized labor, met to discuss what we could do to assist in breaking up the reactionary bi-partisan combination which seemed to be dominating the congressional scene in Washington. We were agreed that we should work for the renomination, which in Florida is equivalent to reëlection, of Senator Claude Pepper, who has gained a national reputation as an outstanding liberal, and for the defeat of Representative Joe Hendricks, who had been an ardent supporter of Martin Dies and a weaker exponent of the Dies philosophy of government. On crucial issues Hendricks has either voted for reaction or dodged the issue by absenting himself.

We formed the Independent Democratic League. Through that organization we have been working for Senator Pepper, against whom a vicious campaign is being waged by the reactionary forces both within and from without the state, and have been in part instrumental in securing an opposition candidate to Hendricks in the person of J. Reynolds Duncan, an administrator and engineer who is engaged in enforcing the Workman's Compensation Act as an employee of the Florida Industrial Commission.

As we became involved in this fight we grew to feel that the lack of informed opinion in our state on the issues and candidates on the part of the voters represents a threat to democracy itself which goes beyond the immediate issues of this campaign. Therefore, we have now formed the Florida Voters' League, in which we hope to enlist all the forward-looking people in this state, regardless of party, for the purpose of supplying adequate and impartial information to the voters on the issues and candidates presented to them. Dr. Edwin L. Clarke, Rollins College, Winter Park, is the secretary of both of these organizations and if any readers wish to assist either in the campaign to elect Pepper and defeat Hendricks, or in the longer time effort, by a contribution of time or money or both, they should communicate with Dr. Clarke.

ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE

Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.

A Defense of Standard Oil

SIR: I have just had an opporunity to read the special section entitled, "Cartels, The Menace of Worldwide Monopoly," which is Part Two of The New Republic for March 27, 1944.

One section, entitled "The Rubber Cartel," is devoted to a series of detailed statements regarding the part Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) has played in the development of synthetic rubber. These statements are very largely a repetition of a series of charges made against this company over a period now covering more than two years. Most of them have originated with statements made by individuals of the United States Department of Justice before congressional committees. They stem from an exceedingly lengthy and detailed study of files which we made freely available to the Department of Justice some years ago in order to achieve clarification of our status under the anti-trust laws. The various charges have never been proved in any court or elsewhere and have consistently and repeatedly been denied by responsible company officials together with documentary support of such denial. The charges are a series of half truths, of innuendo, of inference, and of allegations fitted together in most devious ways to paint a picture derogatory to our company.

It would seem to us that, in presenting material of this nature, you would make a reasonable attempt to present both sides of the issue. Yet the evidence which this company has presented in its attempt to set forth the true facts of this situation has been completely ignored. Just for example, officials of this company spent three full days during last August before the Senate Committee on Patents in an attempt to clear up these irresponsible charges. The complete record of the hearings of this committee occupies something over six volumes in the printed record of the committee, and there is not space here to give a detailed summary of them. If you or any of your readers are interested, however, I refer you to that public record—particularly those of the proceedings before the committee on August 19, 20 and 21, 1942. I am enclosing the statement of our company before this committee and would be glad to send additional copies if any of your readers would like it.

The apparent object of the statements regarding our company repeated in your special section, and quite possibly the result, is to paint a picture of our corporation as acting in prewar years against the interests of the American people, and of planning in postwar years to continue actions not in the interests of the American public. These statements were, and they remain, nothing more than sensational, unsubstantiated charges. The picture they paint is false and distorted. . . .

As a matter of record and in order that there may be no confusion of this company's position on the issue raised in your publication, I would like to make clear that this company does not and never has considered its business contracts with the I. G. [Farbenindustrie] as a cartel. They are simply agreements involving the purchase of valuable patents and the establishment of means whereby these patents could best be developed. The record has shown that Americans have profited greatly by the availability of these patents and the vast amount of detailed chemical knowledge which we were able to derive from the IG organization. From these patents and chemical developments have stemmed in very large measure much of the most important technology now utilized by the oil industry in catalytic processes to produce 100-octane gasoline, synthetic toluene and synthetic rubber. This, however, is a matter of record and needs no further exposition here. To imply that these were a part of some vaguely defined cartel which was inimical to the nation's interest is completely twisting the facts. Just so that there may be no mistake regarding our company's position with respect to cartels and foreign trade in general, I would like to quote below from a public statement made last fall, and which has been widely quoted and referred to in the public press. Here, again, it seems to us your article would have made reference to this had a sincere attempt been made to be factual. The statement was as follows:

> The whole process of world trade is undergoing review by governments, industries, and by the people. Much of the discussion has been centered around "cartels," a word which once meant a "combination to control production and fix prices." In the heat of public discussion not only "cartels" but world trade is in danger of becoming the symbol of "secret," "un-American" "contracts with foreigners."
>
> As one American enterprise which has done business all over

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the world, to the benefit of American consumers and the nation as a whole, we should like to state our position.

Here are our views:

1. *We do not believe in controlling production*—whether it is done by government fiat or by business men behind the locked doors of board rooms. When there seems to be overproduction, it is the American Way to use science in finding new uses for the product, to improve the methods of distribution so that people can share what is being produced at a lower cost.

As the late Justice Brandeis once said, "The one final way in which we can improve the condition of the work is to produce more, in order that there may be more to divide."

Like most responsible American corporations, we are dedicated to that American Way.

We think there is one notable exception to this general rule. Sometimes overproduction theatens to waste or use up a natural resource. Then, we think it is the responsibility of government —the agent of all the people—to step in and stop dangerous depletion of these irreplaceable resources. The American people have already accepted the validity of this principle. The oil-producing states of the Union, with the approval of Congress, have established the Inter-State Oil Compact for the purpose of conserving the nation's oil resources. Under this compact, the governing authorities of Texas, for example, fix—in open public hearings—quotas for the production of oil within the state.

2. *We do not believe in combinations to control price.* Quite aside from any moral principle involved, we think it is folly for a business to believe that it can be secure in such an arrangement. Such a business has become defensive in policy. Sooner or later somebody is going to develop better ways to make the product more cheaply and then take the market away from the price-fixers. Like more responsible American corporations, our constant objective is to be that "somebody." It has been our experience that a clique which has run into the dead-end street of trying to save its business by maintaining unnatural prices is the easiest kind of competition.

Of course, there are times when government in a national emergency has to step in and control prices. We are in such a period now, when disastrous inflation would result from a sharp rise in commodity prices. But even in such an emergency, price control must be handled with candor, efficiency and singleness of purpose.

3. *We are for business dealings with people in foreign countries.* The American has traditionally roamed the face of the earth—bringing back new things to make life better and happier for our citizens, and carrying the gospel of the American standard of living to people in other lands. The bitter experience of two bloody and costly wars has shown that international trade must be increased, planned more intelligently, made easier—not frustrated or blocked. For one thing, everybody seems to agree that basic raw materials must be more easily, more equitably available to the people of all nations.

The responsibility for such planning seems to us to lie with representatives of our government working together with the representatives of the governments of other nations.

Of course, when American business men do business in other countries, they must do business the way that country does it. They must obey the laws of the land. No matter how much he may prefer the way we do business in this country, no American business man can hope to change the political structure of a foreign country just to suit his convenience. For example, our government in 1922 urged American companies to secure rights to produce oil in the Near East. We attempted to acquire interests in Irak. After six years of arduous negotiation, we entered into an agreement which limited to a certain percentage our share of the oil to be produced and restricted our producing activities throughout the whole area.

In the United States such a contract would probably violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The point is that if America was to get any of the oil of Irak, American companies had to abide by the conditions imposed by international competition.

4. *We are against secret agreements.* We think that secret agreements are a bad business policy—and that in our American democracy there is a fundamental reason for this position. In this country we are dedicated to the principle that the will of the people shall prevail. If this principle is to be effective, it means that the people must have the facts on which to form their opinions.

It has been our observation that the judgment of the American public has been consistently right *when it has the facts.* Any business which deliberately follows a policy of secrecy and mystery is vulnerable to the attacks of any ill wisher who sees some personal advantage in stirring up prejudice based on misrepresentation and distortion of the truth.

Of course, there are times when publication of the facts is against the national interest. But here, again, responsibility for this decision should rest with government.

We are ready to file with the Department of State—or some other designated government agency—copies of all contracts that we make with foreign corporations. If that agency considers publication of the facts to be in the public interest, we are for publishing them to the world.

Our interest in setting this matter aright is not wholly a selfish one, nor merely one of self-defense. We believe that the United States is entering upon a period which may well prove to be the most vital in its entire history. The era of isolationism is passing; our country today is taking its place in the world community of nations. Decisions are being made today by the American people, and by their elected and appointed representatives, which will have a most profound effect upon the future of our nation. To make wise decisions, the American people need honest, constructive presentation of facts regarding international trade. On those facts they must base decisions which will determine whether or not America will play a leading part in world trade. And without world trade full productive capacity of America's vast industry and the full employment of American workmen may never again be achieved.

New York City R. T. HASLAM
Director, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)

[While we are willing to give space to the foregoing statement on behalf of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), we regret that Mr. Haslam chose not to reply in detail to a single one of the comments on his company made in The New Republic supplement. It seems to us that he could have answered all of them, if the company's record is as good as he says, in not more than half the amount of space he has taken here. We suggest that those of our readers who are interested in pursuing the matter further write to the Kilgore Committee on War Mobilization, of the United States Senate, and ask for Part IV of the Hearings (Patents) which present the government's case against Standard Oil (New Jersey) in detail, as well as Standard Oil's answer. Meanwhile, we are sure our readers will agree with us in commending heartily Standard's announced willingness to file with the Department of State, or any other designated government agency, for possible publication, copies of all contracts it may make henceforth with foreign corporations. —THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

We have received a communication from Bernardo Ibañez, general secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Labor and vice-president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers. Mr. Ibañez denies charges made against him by Earl Browder. He says that, contrary to Mr. Browder's statements, he has not argued in favor of the recognition of the present Bolivian government and has not sought to dislodge Lombardo Toledano from the presidency of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, the CTAL. Mr. Ibañez says he has always fought against fascism and nazism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

Marginalia

BERNARD DEVOTO as a critic has always puzzled me. He is a friendly person when not at his typewriter; he is widely read in American literature and history; and often he comes to the help of neglected scholars or persecuted books, as witness his present defense of "Strange Fruit" against the Cambridge censors. Moreover, his critical instincts are sound, or so I should judge from the space he devotes to various authors of his own generation. If these are dry, conventional or merely second-rate, he dismisses them briefly. If they have freshness and vigor, he considers them at great length and his style shows that he is deeply stirred. But although he has little space for conventional authors, he nevertheless presents them as models for us to imitate; whereas the vigorous authors who love their craft are the men he has been attacking in essay after essay and book after book. Indeed, his bias against the work of Van Wyck Brooks especially, but also for that of Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner and Wolfe, has come to be a ruling obsession. He belabors these authors on any occasion, from any convenient angle and with any weapons at hand. He hounds and chivies and harries them till at last he brings them to bay; and then, forgetting his generous instincts, his knowledge of history and sense of proportion, he strikes at them like someone blinded with fear and rage.

Lately I have wondered whether this *furor critici*, which has long ceased to be critical, was in any way connected with DeVoto's college career. He entered Harvard in the fall of 1915, after being graduated from a Salt Lake City high school and spending two years at the University of Utah. Harvard in those days was cool to Western high-school boys, a fact that might help to explain DeVoto's magnification of the West at the expense of New York and New England. But Harvard was even cooler to undergraduates who had first attended other colleges; they missed the easier friendships of the freshman year and seldom played much part in student activities. DeVoto was eventually assigned to the class of 1918, but he must have remained an out-of-course student until he went off to the army; for neither his name nor his picture appears in the class album. He was outside the college social world of dinners, punches and Boston dances; that wouldn't have bothered him much. But he was also outside the college literary world, which was thriving in those days; it included Cummings and Dos Passos among others. DeVoto might well have thought that his own abilities were being slighted. I can imagine him saying, like other brilliant students, "I'll show the bastards before I get through." If that is the case, he showed them.

In the course of twenty-five years, he has obtained all the literary distinctions he failed to receive as an undergraduate. He wasn't on the editorial board of The Crimson or The Lampoon, but for two years he edited The Harvard Graduates' Magazine, and later The Saturday Review. For nine years in Harper's Magazine he has been conducting "The Easy Chair," which is said to be the oldest regular department in any American periodical. He has published ten books under his own name, besides his popular novels signed "John August"; he has taught at Northwestern and Harvard; he has received honorary degrees and has been invited to give special series of lectures, like those for the Patten Foundation at Indiana University. Meanwhile he has continued his warfare against other serious writers of his generation; and it was never more violent than in his latest book, "The Literary Fallacy," which is based on his Patten lectures and which I plan to review next week, after its appearance in the bookstores.

There is, for the moment, one aspect of his critical work to which I should like to call attention. DeVoto's attack on his fellow writers, now broadened to include the whole literature of the 1920's, is expressed in much the same language he has always used, but his changed fortunes have given it a different application. He began as a spokesman for the disadvantaged against the too easily successful and for the hard-working scholars against the esthetes; he was often unjust, but everything he said had at least a corrective value. Now, because of his standing in academic and editorial circles, the same arguments become a defense of conformity against adventure, of book learning against the creative imagination and of Philistines against writers in general, not excepting Bernard DeVoto. I wouldn't ask him to change his opinions, which are honestly held, but it is time for him to reconsider his whole critical position.

Dealers in second-hand books report a lively demand for the eleventh edition of "The Encyclopedia Britannica," which was published in 1911. Prices are generally higher than in the early 1930's, and they are still rising: they range from $35 for clothbound sets in not too good condition to $75 and more for sets in leather bindings with the supplementary volumes issued in 1926. This supplement formed the thirteenth edition, which was otherwise identical with the eleventh. The fourteenth edition, published in 1930, was rewritten from beginning to end. It brings somewhat higher prices in the second-hand bookshops, partly because there are not so many sets available; but dealers say that their customers show more interest in the eleventh. This time I think the customers are right.

Something went wrong when the fourteenth edition was compiled. I don't know whether it was because of commercial standards introduced by the new owners, Sears Roebuck and Company; or whether the work was done too quickly (in three years, as against the seven required for the eleventh edition and the nineteen spent on the ninth); or whether J. L. Garvin, who seemed a good choice as editor in chief, made mistakes in hiring his assistants; or whether the American office was badly run (as I have sometimes heard); or whether the new plan adopted was faulty from the beginning. It appeared to be a good plan as described in the preface: briefly it was to reduce the "Britannica" from twenty-nine to twenty-four volumes, so as to make it easier to handle; to introduce a great number

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of shorter headings; to modernize the scientific and historical articles; and finally to get rid of all the dead wood. The trouble seems to have been that Mr. Garvin's assistants didn't recognize which trees were still living and which branches had to be pruned.

One article, a favorite of mine, received a treatment typical of many others. For the eleventh edition, George Saintsbury wrote a monograph on French literature that ran to eighty-seven columns, or about 65,000 words; and not many of them were wasted. Essentially it was a history of French writing until 1900, the best that exists in our language. In the fourteenth edition, it was cut to forty-five columns by some editorial assistant. Saintsbury was still alive at the time, and he must have objected to the butchery, for the revised article was printed without his signature. It was followed by six columns on contemporary French authors by Denis Saurat, who might have written something better; what he supplied was a dullish catalogue of names.

In the earlier edition, many of the scientific articles are hopelessly out of date, while others are written in a language impenetrable by laymen. The work as a whole is more English than British and more British than American. But for all these faults, and many others, the eleventh "Britannica" is perhaps the greatest existing monument to the scholarship of the English-speaking world. The fourteenth is still a monument, but in places it bears the marks of unskilled restoration—as if a bombed city had been rebuilt and modernized, but never quite restored to its former glory.

MALCOLM COWLEY

California to 1900

From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California: 1542-1900, by Robert Glass Cleland. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 388 pages. $4.

NEARLY A QUARTER of a century ago, Dr. Charles E. Chapman and Dr. Robert Glass Cleland published two independent, but closely related, volumes designed to provide a standard general history of California: "A History of California: The Spanish Period," by Dr. Chapman and "A History of California: The American Period," by Dr. Cleland. In the present volume, Dr. Cleland has drawn together the materials of the two earlier volumes, supplemented by much new research, and prepared a comprehensive general history of California from 1542 to 1900. A subsequent volume will carry the story forward from 1900 to 1943. When completed, this two-volume work will represent the best general history of the state and will doubtless remain the standard reference in the field for years to come. "From Wilderness to Empire" represents a lifetime of research. Its scholarship is impeccable without ever being obtrusive. It is carefully, intelligently and economically organized; and it is immensely readable. It represents no small feat of planning to compress the fabulously interesting history of California over such a span of years into a volume of 388 pages and still manage to include, at least in broad outline, the essentials of the story. While perhaps too much material has been included on the Spanish period, no one familiar with the rich source materials will be inclined to criticize the volume on this score.

Owing to the work of the indefatigable Hubert Howe Bancroft—who at one time operated a mass-production factory for the manufacture of histories—an amazingly rich collection of materials on the Spanish period was assembled in California at an early date. Similarly, rich collections were later accumulated dealing with the period of the Gold Rush. As a consequence, California historians have tended to work and rework these materials and to add fresh matter in the form of newly discovered diaries and journals. At the same time, the youthful pride of the Californians (which Bancroft made a business of exploiting) found expression in the compilation of massive "sets" devoted to the herculean efforts of the heroic "empire-builders" who, "blazing new paths," created "an empire in the wilderness." Traditionally, California historians have followed Bancroft in telling and retelling the colorful history of the Spanish period, the Gold Rush and the story of the empire-builders. The existence of wonderfully rich source materials on these three phases of his history of California is, however, only part of the explanation for the one-sided emphasis. In an essay entitled: "The Lo! School in Poetry," Genevieve Taggard years ago explained why the poet faced peculiar difficulties in California. California, Miss Taggard wrote, is "a huge, open, varied, unique land, with a freshly made civilization scattered across its surface, but penetrating neither down into its soil, nor abroad, into its recesses." Noting this teeming contemporary reality, the poets have shown a tendency to stand in awe of Yosemite Valley—the historians to bury themselves in the Bancroft and Huntington libraries.

Apart from the chronicles of the Spanish period, the diaries and journals of the Forty-niners and the grandiose legend of the empire-builders, there is a phase of the history of California that has never been written. It is the history of the "hidden" California, the story that Bancroft's patrons were only too eager to forget. No state has a more fascinating social history than California, but it is precisely this side of the story that California historians—and Dr. Cleland is no exception—have so largely neglected. What is needed is a history of the interplay of social forces in the state, a history that would view the miraculous development of California from the point of view of the Indians, the Mexicans, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Americans, the Filipinos, the stumble-bums and bindle-stiffs, the farmers of the early American period, and the thousands of migratory workers who, for more than seventy years, have roamed through the state "during the season." Seen from the point of view of these groups, many of the incidents, happenings and events laconically noted by Dr. Cleland would merit a closer scrutiny.

An adequate social history would also provide at least a few clues to the curious social dynamics of the state—clues of the type suggested in a brilliant but seldom-quoted chapter in Viscount Bryce's "The American Commonwealth." Perhaps if a good social or cultural history of the state were written, it would enable the general historian to clarify a number of disputed issues. For example, the question is not so much whether Crocker, Stanford, Hopkins and Huntington ("The Big Four") were "robber barons" or "empire-builders," but rather: what effect did the protracted dominance of the Southern Pacific Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Learn something about your War Bonds from this fellow!

THE BEST THING a bulldog does is HANG ON Once he gets hold of something, it's mighty hard to make him let go!

And that's the lesson about War Bonds you can learn from him. Once you get hold of a War Bond, HANG ON TO IT for the full ten years of its life.

There are at least two very good reasons why you should do this. One is a patriotic reason . . . the other a personal reason.

You buy War Bonds because you know Uncle Sam needs money to fight this war. And you want to put some of your money into the fight. But . . . if you don't hang on to those War Bonds, your money isn't going to *stay* in the battle.

Another reason you buy War Bonds is because you want to set aside some money for your family's future and yours. No one knows just what's going to happen after the War. But the man with a fistful of War Bonds *knows* he'll have a roof over his head and 3 squares a day no matter *what* happens!

War Bonds pay you back $4 for every $3 in 10 years. But, if you don't hang on to your Bonds for the full ten years, you don't get the full face value, and . . . you won't have that money coming in later on when you may need it a lot worse than you need it today.

So buy War Bonds . . . more and more War Bonds. And then *keep* them. You will find that War Bonds are very good things to have . . . and to hold!

WAR BONDS to Have and to Hold

The Treasury Department acknowledges with appreciation the publication of this message by

Space contributed by

THE PUBLISHER OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have upon institutional development in California? Similarly, it is not so much a question of whether the Chinese actually did displace American workmen or threaten labor standards, but rather: what effects upon the developing social, economic and political institutions of the state were caused by the large-scale importation of Chinese coolie labor in the decades after 1849? Certainly questions of this order would seem to be inescapable responsibilities even of the general historian. The point involves, I suppose, the difference between history as a chronicle of events and history as an interpretation of the past regarded as an ever living reality affecting the present and the future.

These observations are not intended to detract from the conspicuous merits of Dr. Cleland's history, but rather as an expression of hope that, in the subsequent volume, he will show how the peculiar factors involved in the settlement and development of California have given rise to those curious social phenomena that have long puzzled even native sons.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

The Days of Revolution

The Great Transformation, by Karl Polanyi. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 305 pages. $3.

TODAY the final victory of the United Nations may be considered assured. But the nearer we come to that goal, the greater is the confusion concerning an unambiguous answer to the vital question: "What are we fighting for?" Our high ideals have not changed much, but there are more and more doubts about their practicality.

When we were relatively this close to victory in World War I we were pretty well agreed that we were fighting "to make the world safe for democracy." To be sure, *our* sort of democracy, which rested on a capitalism more or less controlled by a free-market economy, a balance of power among the leading national states, world trade based on a gold standard and increasing political and social liberalism. We naïvely believed the world could be forced to return to the "normalcy" of nineteenth-century civilization. World War I had resulted from the upset in balance of power among the leading imperialist capitalist powers. But, as Polanyi's book conclusively demonstrates, this upset in balance of power was of a new nature and much more severe than that which created the relatively few and minor wars of the preceding century, and it was based on a long historical sequence of changes in the socio-economic sphere. The whole pattern of social organization was threatened with collapse because market economy, however productive of progress for the fictional "economic man," caused such uncomfortable upsets to the actual "social man" that he was increasingly forced to protect himself against its expansion by political intervention. And political intervention caused such stresses and strains in the whole fabric of society that the ideal of a self-regulating market economy could not be realized. "The Great Transformation" from the nineteenth-century form of liberal democracy was already under way in 1914.

World War II came upon us after an interim of only twenty years of increasingly rapid social change during which the old forms of social organization were never actually reëstablished and during which the tenets of economic liberalism (free market, gold standard, balance of power, political democracy) were, except for a few years and then only partially, hopes rather than actualities.

Of all the books I have read recently on the background of our present difficulties, this one gives the most scholarly and well documented argument against the possibility of any return to the patterns of traditional liberal democracy. Although it ends rather vaguely and without positive answers to questions about the future organization of society, the book shows quite clearly why a wholesale reorganization of society on the basis of a more realistic social psychology of man is the only alternative to complete cultural chaos. The days of reform are past; the days of revolution are upon us. Not revolution alone in the sense of barricades, street fighting, looting, new classes taking over the political machine (although we may well be in for a good deal of that type of thing), but revolution in our whole system of economic, political and social institutions. Until man adapts socially to an increasingly complicated industrial culture by accepting the primacy of political society as the basic reality rather than a secondary result of individualistic economic activity, the brave new world will not be born. Now, of course, a great many modern social philosophers have argued thus, but so far cultural lag has prevented a sufficient number of our political and social leaders from fairly facing the issue. It is important that we do so, because the most variegated plans for reconstruction currently put forth both here and in Britain continue to be in terms of reform rather than of basic reorganization. Thus world peace through world trade, balanced budgets, free enterprise, currencies maintained at par, even international labor organizations or international cartels or a new league of nations, cannot assure a stable future for a world society. The idea of basic world prosperity through even a highly regulated free-market economy without the control of a primary world political organization belongs to the myths of the past. So much for the chief argument of this provocative book.

The argument is developed by a detailed and rather technical historical critique of modern orthodox economics and political science. Polanyi, from years of residence in Vienna, London and the United States, is thoroughly familiar with economic history and the various orthodox and dissident viewpoints. It is impossible in a brief review even to abstract the details of his carefully worked-out thesis about the basic inadequacies of the traditional free market and the inevitable collapse of a world economy based upon it. It is likewise impossible more than to mention the fact that Polanyi deals critically with nearly all the leading schools of political, economic and social thought of the past few centuries. The book is full of keen and original insights into nearly all the problems of the evolution of social institutions. It is to be hoped that this book will be carefully read and pondered not only by professional social scientists but by the educated laity as well. Its strongest point is not the originality of its thesis, but the scholarly, sober and documented way in which it is presented.

On laying the book aside, one wishes that Polanyi had something more positive to say about the future, that the space devoted to some historical topics had been saved to enlarge more fully on immediate issues, that some consideration had been given to modern social psychology, that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the felicity of phrasing and the aptness of illustrative material which are often attained had been more general. But these are minor points when we realize the cogency of the total argument with regard to the critical point in modern history where we now stand. J. F. BROWN

The Eternal Feminine

Under a Glass Bell, by Anais Nin. New York: Distributed by The Wakefield Gallery Book Shop, Inc. 83 pages. $5.

ACCORDING TO WHAT Henry Miller and William Carlos Williams have written about her, Anais Nin is a pioneer among women writers, striking out into a new area in the experience and expression of her sex. There are two reasons why "Under a Glass Bell" fails to present evidence for this claim. The first is that a truly pioneer figure, the equivalent for the feminine sex of Daniel Boone or Natty Bumpo, will never be found. And not because the will or the temperament is lacking, but because the wilderness is lacking. There are no regions of sex where a few well equipped masculine surrealists cannot penetrate, or to which, even if women be the ultimate discoverers, Freud, D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce cannot be taken as guides. I do not deny that Djuna Barnes, for example, inhabits a unique place; she does, however, have neighbors. Literary discoveries in sex, granting their indebtedness to the work that has already been done both in modern writing and psychology, no longer come as a complete surprise, but rather, as the fulfilment of our expectations. (This, I admit, is a-priori reasoning, for I have not read Anais Nin's unpublished journals on the basis of which the above claim is made.)

The second reason why "Under a Glass Bell" does not advance Anais Nin as a pathfinder has to do with the very writing of her book. It is the sort of writing which conveys more about the author in a general sense, than it does, specifically, about itself. There are eight short stories or sketches in her book dealing with life in a house boat on the Seine, schizophrenia, the relations between the author and a servant girl, and the experience of childbirth. There is a delicacy in all these stories which resembles the lines of the semi-abstract copper engravings (by Ian Hugo) which so suitably accompany this book. There is delicacy even in "Birth," the story of a woman in labor with her dead child, her prolonged, intolerable pain resulting from her unconscious refusal to part with the child. It is the delicacy of the small scope, the needle point, confining the emotion exactly to the scale Anais Nin is working in—and naturally, it is better suited to concentration than discovery. Even the fantastic overtones she strikes in her sketches of schizophrenia, such as "Je Suis le Plus Malade des Surrealistes" and the title story, suggest an approach determined more by the conscious selection of sensibility than the instinctual imagery of sex.

What the stories in "Under a Glass Bell" do convey is a sense of craftsmanship and design, a set of values rarely imposed upon writing. Most short-story writers now practising their trade in this country are content with the ready-made design which follows the conventional beginning-middle-climax-end pattern suitable to conventional dramatic narrative. While experiments in focus, scale and design are always interesting for their own sake, they turn out successfully only when the writer can make them conform to the demands of his craft. This Anais Nin has done, profiting even from the occasional lapses, like a stitch gone astray in embroidery, which appear in her work with the imperfection of an intimate product.

"Under a Glass Bell" was hand set by the author—a fact well in keeping with the non-commercial intent and quality of her writing. ISAAC ROSENFELD

A Reader's List

CHARLES LAMB AND HIS FRIENDS, by Will D. Howe (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50). In twelve pleasant essays, Mr. Howe covers the variegated literary output of Charles Lamb, his devotion to and pride in his periodically mad sister Mary, his large circle of friends who controlled the cultural life of Regency London. The famous literary evenings at the Lambs' were both well attended and worth while, though Mr. Howe's harping on the "good talk, simple food and drink, wit and good fellowship" suggest that the "goodness" was specifically Wordsworthian in the worse and most sentimental sense. Lamb's simplicity seems something that he acquired partly to round out his literary pretensions, to compensate for his lack of education, and only partly inherent in his character. From these essays Lamb slowly appears, bit by bit, largely humanized by the liberal quotations from his letters and works; and a surprisingly worldly atmosphere among the more conservative of the Romantics (Byron, Keats and Shelley are among the notables that Lamb did *not* know) is evoked for the reader.

SILLY GIRL, by Angna Enters (Houghton Mifflin, $3.50). Everybody knows Mrs. Malaprop's remark to Captain Absolute at the climax of "The Rivals": "Come, sir, you are not like Cerberus, three gentlemen at once, are you?" But this is about what Miss Angna Enters appears to be, and with no small authority has a right to claim. She is a mime who uses the dance form for compositions which at their best have long been recognized as among the outstanding creations in our present-day theatre. She is a painter whose canvases and drawings are alert with style and talent. And she is a writer of persuasive and genuine gifts. "Silly Girl" is an account, dotted with drawings of great variety and wit and with a number of satirical ventures into color, of Miss Enters' childhood and adolescence, her early struggles in New York, and her work in the three chosen fields of her artistic endeavor, with pen portraits and varying accounts of divers people who have figured in the pattern of such a career.

CANADIAN PROGRESSIVES ON THE MARCH, by M. J. Coldwell, MP (League for Industrial Democracy, 15 cents). The growth of the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation in Canada in the last decade has been one of the few bright spots in the contemporary history of Western Hemisphere politics. In 1943 it came within a few seats of becoming the leading opposition party and, according to a Gallup Poll, has the support of about one-third of the Canadian people. The underlying reasons for this remarkable development are clearly set forth in this reprint of a recent talk by the Federation's leader. The pamphlet includes also the original Regina Manifesto of 1933 and a program for future action. It is the vigorous and courageous promulgation of a liberal democratic platform for socialization and national economic coöperation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that explains the CCF's unquestionable success. There is no place in the movement for narrow provincial interests or for the kind of jingo isolationism characteristic of our own Midwest. And the Federation's postwar program might be well scrutinized by American liberal groups with profit.

THEORY OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING, by Carl Landauer (California, $2). Professor Landauer's well organized treatise is a powerful answer to those economists and statesmen who habitually confound economic planning with totalitarianism. Starting with the premise that a sound economy must solve the problem of continuous production and maximum employment, the author presents a closely reasoned argument for a centralized economic system. It is insisted, and rightly so, that physical-resources developments which fail to include value and price planning soon degenerate into partial measures. The major concern in this volume, however, is stabilization, though development and expansion are not ignored. The plan for production described here is a refinement of Mordecai Ezekiel's "Industrial Expansion," into which Professor Landauer successfully fits the problems of savings, investment, money and international trade. A wider latitude would be granted to individual business men than is usually suggested in blueprints of this kind, but that is one way, says the author, of checking the proposals of the planning board. This book should be required reading for those interested in postwar planning.

JENNY KISSED ME, by Ruth Fenisong (Crime Club, $2). Gwen Mattice, lady-on-the-make, had no more morals than a tomcat, but she was an alluring and amusing woman with a technique that makes Mata Hari look like a novice. More's the pity, then, that the plot demands her untimely death. The book never recovers from the loss of its best character, though the author's ingenuity keeps you reading to the end.

Contributors

ALEXANDER H. PEKELIS is an associate professor of Legal Sociology and the graduate editor-in-chief of The Columbia Law Review. He is on the faculty of the New School for Social Research, where he has been lecturing on "Social and Legal Trends in the Recent Opinions of the Supreme Court."

ALLAN SPALDING, a student of economics and politics, now lives in Washington, D. C. A graduate of Columbia University, he is at present doing economic-research work.

BABETTE DEUTSCH, the author of a number of books of poetry, fiction and biography, has appeared in our pages many times. A new book of her poems, "Take Them, Stranger," is to be published next season by Henry Holt.

KENNETH LINDSAY, well known English liberal, is a Member of Parliament. His article is extremely timely, since the education bill is at the moment the center of the Parliamentary stage. Mr. Lindsay was the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education before the war.

LYLE F. WATTS is the chief of the Forest Service in the United States Department of Agriculture.

LIEUTENANT FREDERICK BORDEN was, prior to his enlistment into the United States Army, an organizer for the United Office and Professional Workers of America, a CIO affiliate. He has had varied experience in advertising and publishing, and did editorial work for several major New York publishing houses, as well as writing advertising and radio copy for large retail firms. He is at present stationed at Camp Adair, Oregon, as a field artillery officer.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS is a Los Angeles attorney and was formerly the California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing. "Factories in the Field," "Ill Fares the Land" and his latest, "Brothers Under the Skin," all deal in one way or another with the problem of race and labor in America. He has just been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to make a study of the functioning of organized religions as social institutions in the United States.

J. F. BROWN was for many years professor of Psychology at Kansas University and chief of the Psychological Department of the Menninger Clinic. His new book, "Barriers to Utopia: The Possibilities in Societal Reconstruction," is to be published soon.

ALHAMBRA
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
COLISEUM
81st STREET
86th STREET
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
58th STREET
HAMILTON
MARBLE HILL
125th STREET
PELHAM
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
ROYAL
23rd STREET
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCHELLE
WHITE PLAINS
YONKERS

NOW RKO

RUSSIAN WOMEN PLAY EXCITING ROLE AGAINST NAZI INVADERS!

"THREE RUSSIAN GIRLS"

STARRING
ANNA STEN • KENT SMITH
Based on photoplay "The Girl From Leningrad"
—and—
"THE SULLIVANS"
with ANNE BAXTER • THOMAS MITCHELL

STAGE PLAYS

THE THEATRE GUILD presents (in association with Jack H. Skirball)
JACOBOWSKY and the COLONEL
The FRANZ WERFEL - S. N. BEHRMAN COMEDY — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN — ANNABELLA — OSCAR KARLWEIS
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
MARTIN BECK THEATRE — 45th St., West of 8th Avenue
Evgs. at 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

COTTAGE FOR RENT

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY COTTAGE in Litchfield hills. Seven rooms, comfortably furnished, all modern conveniences including oil burner. Long season for tenant desiring seclusion and quiet. A. H. Mitchell, Falls Village, Connecticut.

LANGUAGES

PHONOGRAPH RECORD COURSES. All Makes. Booklet R. LANGUAGE SERVICE, 18 East 41st St., New York City 17, N. Y.

War Bonds and Stamps

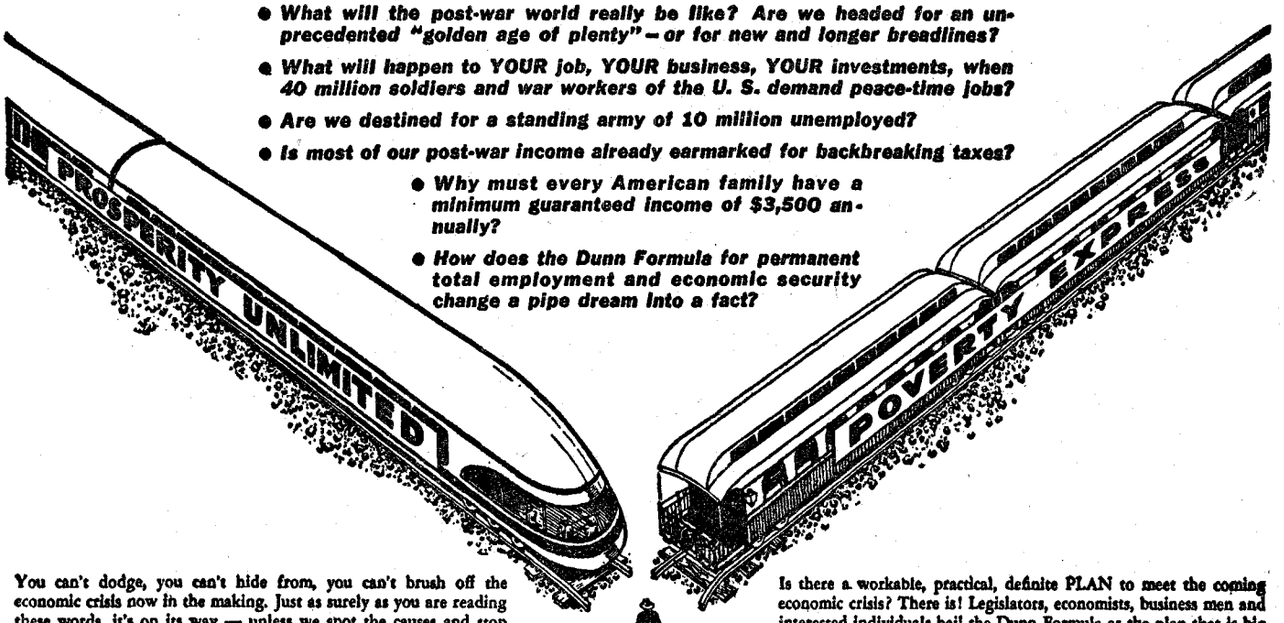
Buy a share in AMERICA. *Invest in your country and help win the war. Get the Victory Habit — buy War Bonds and Stamps every pay day.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After the War

WHICH TRAIN DO WE TAKE?

- **What will the post-war world really be like? Are we headed for an unprecedented "golden age of plenty"—or for new and longer breadlines?**
- **What will happen to YOUR job, YOUR business, YOUR investments, when 40 million soldiers and war workers of the U. S. demand peace-time jobs?**
- **Are we destined for a standing army of 10 million unemployed?**
- **Is most of our post-war income already earmarked for backbreaking taxes?**
- **Why must every American family have a minimum guaranteed income of $3,500 annually?**
- **How does the Dunn Formula for permanent total employment and economic security change a pipe dream into a fact?**



You can't dodge, you can't hide from, you can't brush off the economic crisis now in the making. Just as surely as you are reading these words, it's on its way — unless we spot the causes and stop disaster while we can.

ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION minces no words. It shows you EXACTLY what it is that *can* lead to breadlines or plenty — to real Democracy or dangerous dictatorship — to bad times for millions or good times for all.

If peace, when it comes, is to be permanent, if your economic future is to be *lastingly* secure, there are certain things which *must* be done, definite changes which *must* be made. The sooner the better!

Remember — unemployment is the root cause of war. With fear and dread, all of us, now employed, look ahead to the colossal problem of post-war unemployment. This problem, if not solved, carries with it the threat of revolution and another World War. But what do your political and industrial leaders propose to do about it? What do YOU propose to do about it?

Is there a workable, practical, definite PLAN to meet the coming economic crisis? There is! Legislators, economists, business men and interested individuals hail the Dunn Formula as the plan that is big enough, simple enough, practical enough to do that monumental job!

In ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION, Arthur Dunn shows *how* total employment *is* possible, how war *can* be ended at the roots, how the good things of life *can* be assured for all, permanently. Written by a noted corporation lawyer-economist, this book is as sound as ARITHMETIC in its plan for UNLIMITED PROSPERITY It is the one book that offers a concrete, WORKABLE plan for permanent economic security and a warless world of free men.

Read it *now*. Think it over. Discuss it with your friends. ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION will make you want to DO something about your future, now, while there still is time. It's that kind of book.

ARITHMETIC or REVOLUTION

THE BOOK THAT WILL SOLVE THE COMING ECONOMIC CRISIS *By* **ARTHUR DUNN**

ARTHUR DUNN

A WORD ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Few who have hailed or damned him as an "idealist" or called him names for some of his liberal views, realize that Arthur Dunn is a noted corporation lawyer, a champion of free enterprise, "by environment and temperament an individualist." With forty-six successful years at the Bar to his credit, Mr. Dunn has served as attorney or director for public utilities, coal mines, industrial companies, banks and railways. He is a distinguished Constitutional authority. Mr. Dunn maintains (and proves in terms of simple arithmetic) that free enterprise can flourish only if we solve, NOW, the political and economic problems of the coming crisis. Mr. Dunn has achieved international distinction as an economist, as a syndicated newspaper writer, lecturer, and author of such widely noted books as "Thirty Million Jobs."

A Partial Glimpse of the Contents

The bloody cycle—How we came to be in the mess we are in
What the isms really mean
What do you want most?
Fascism in the United States
Labor's struggle for freedom
The employer's side of the table
The danger from pressure groups
"That iniquitous Treaty of Versailles"
A global war—A global peace
World parliament
The global police force
The truth about Russia
Race prejudice and unemployment
War profits and "Blood Money"
How about the lend-lease billions?
World peace through world trade
Can capitalism survive?
The $3,500 minimum annual family income
THE DUNN FORMULA FOR TOTAL EMPLOYMENT AND A WARLESS WORLD

Published by
GUILD OF AMERICAN ECONOMISTS, INC.
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA NEW YORK

REFUND GUARANTEE!

Get a copy of ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION at your bookstore. Or, mail coupon and the book will be sent you immediately. Your money will be refunded without question if, after seven days, you decide not to keep it for any reason whatever.

GUILD OF AMERICAN ECONOMISTS, INC.
Dept. 15, 9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 19, N. Y.

Please rush ..... copies of ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION, by Arthur Dunn, at $1 per copy. It is plainly understood that I may return the book(s) for refund within seven days if I decide to do so for any reason.

☐ *Check here if you prefer to enclose remittance, in which case publisher pays postage*
☐ *Check here if you wish C. O. D. shipment, plus a few cents postage*

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY & STATE .....

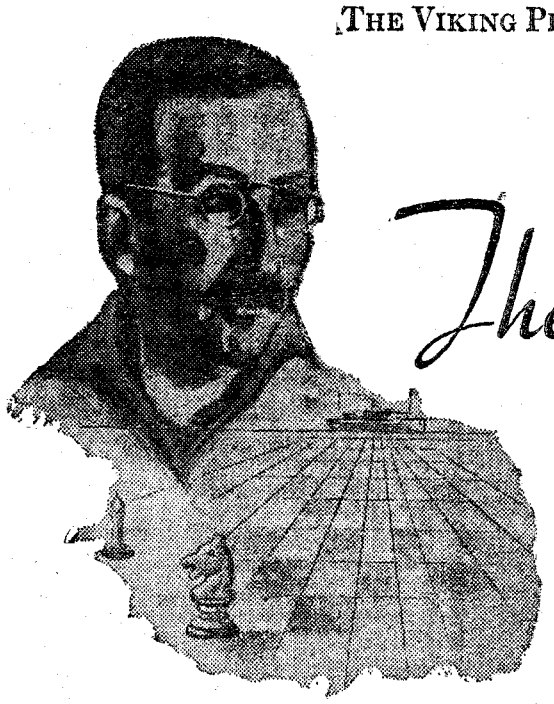
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The last story—and one of the greatest works of fiction—from the pen of

Stefan ZWEIG

In the smoking room of a great Atlantic liner, two men faced each other across a chess board. One was the world champion; the other, a dilettante, had not touched a chess piece in twenty-five years. Before the eyes of a fortunate handful, one of the world's great personal battles was fought out. Only one among those who looked on knew what lay behind the melodrama of that game; knew that what was happening here reflected all that had ever happened to either man; knew that one of the world's strangest and most terrible experiences was at the root of the strains and tensions in that room. The story of this emotional conflict reveals the master of the novelette at his greatest. Here, in a single volume, are his final work of fiction and two of his most famous earlier stories, hitherto available only in separate volumes.

THE VIKING PRESS $2.50



The ROYAL GAME

with AMOK and LETTER FROM AN UNKNOWN WOMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED